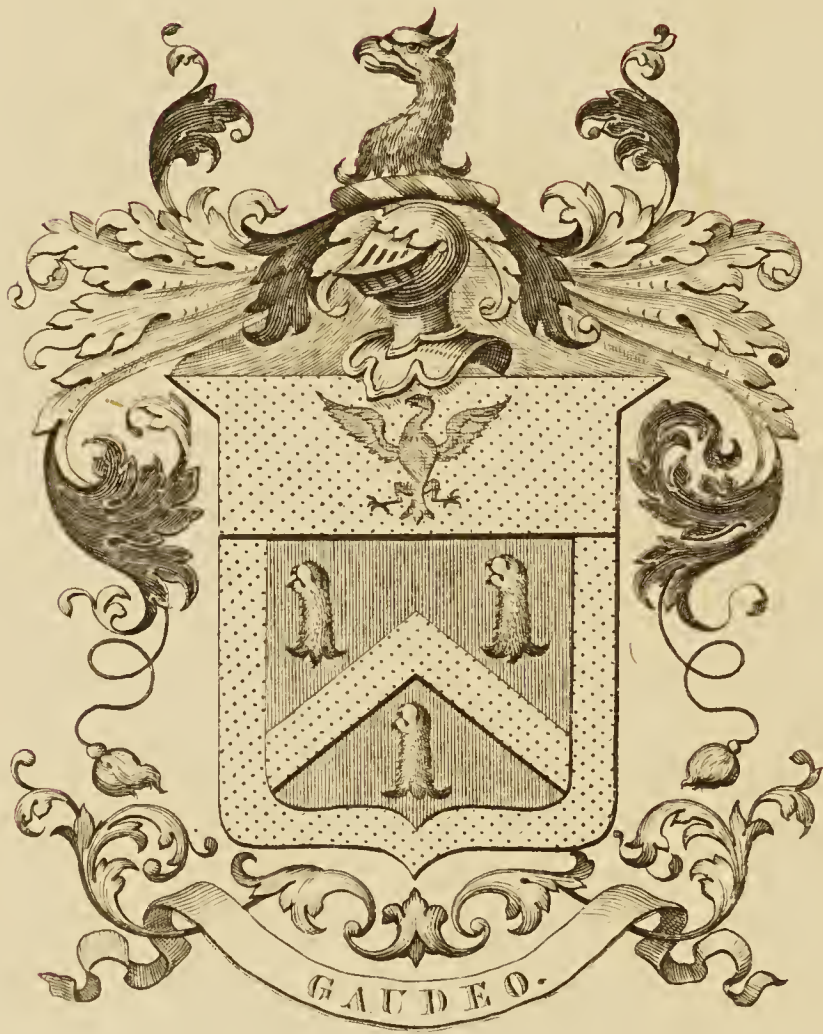




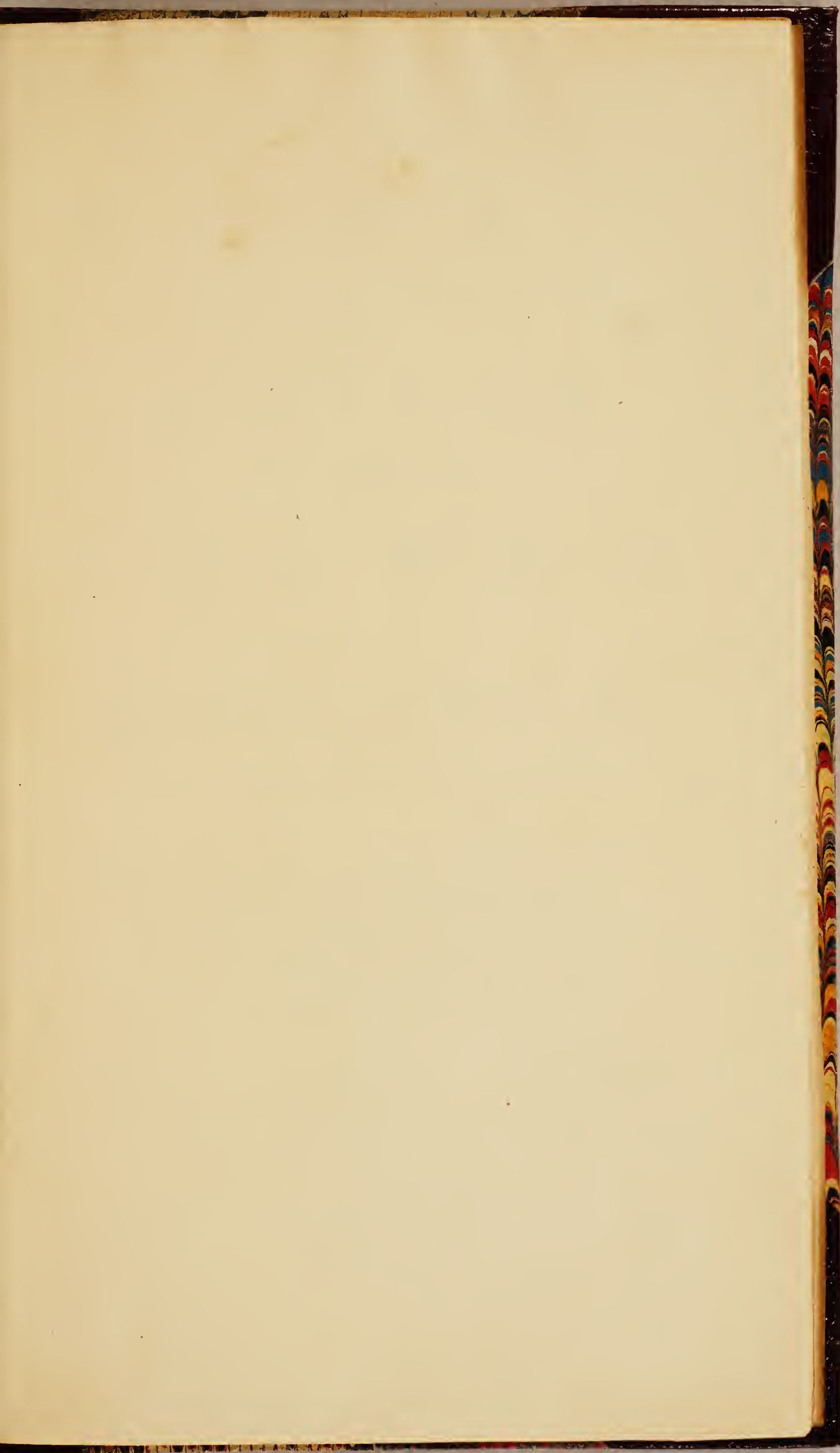
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John Carter Brown.







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This is not a fact.

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R E P L Y
T O
A P I E C E
C A L L E D T H E
S P E E C H
O F

JOSEPH GALLOWAY, Esq;

By JOHN DICKINSON.

“ YES, the last pen for freedom let me draw,
When truth stands trembling on the edge of law.
Here, last of Britons! let your names be read;
Are none, none living? Let me praise the *dead*,
And FOR THAT CAUSE which made *your fathers* shine,
Fall by the votes of their unhappy line.”

POPE.

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JOHN CARTER BROWN.

JCB

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A REPLY,

A

R E P L Y, &c.

TWO reasons induce me to address the public at present. The one is, to clear a few plain arguments, on a matter of the utmost consequence, from the objections lately made against them, in a piece called, *The Speech of Joseph Galloway, Esq; &c.* The other is, to answer the unjust accusations contained in that piece.

To act honestly, and to be traduced, hath been the fate of many men. To bear slanders with temper, and to entertain a proper pity or contempt for their weak or wicked authors, has been the lot of few. I will endeavour to imitate their example: and, by proposing it to myself, I hope I shall be able so far to suppress the resentment naturally arising from a sense of unprovoked injuries, that my vindication may be presented not unacceptably, nor uselessly, to candid minds.

COULD I be convinced, that men of sense or virtue would be persuaded or pleased by wild declamation or illiberal reflexions, I might perhaps be induced to defend myself, in the same shattered style and abusive language, with which I have been attacked: but as these must always offend the *wise* and *good*, whose approbation only is worth wishing

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for;

for ; to Mr. *Galloway* I resign the undisputed glory of excelling in his *favorite* arts — of *writing confusedly*, and *railing insolently*.

PRESUMPTUOUS indeed must I appear, should I venture into *these lists*, against a person who wields the weapons of wordy war — *the only weapons he dares to wield* — with so peculiar a dexterity in his exercise, as to feel no kind of restraint either from *sense* or *truth* ; the regularity of whose sober discipline would prove, I presume, too great a confinement to this advocate of *freedom*.

WHEN I perceived, that Mr. *Galloway* was hardy enough to obtrude on the public a *pretended speech*, of which he never spoke one sentence in the House, I was not surpris'd to find, that a person who treated his own character with such licence should not be unsparing of others. But — *why* he should engage in this *preposterous* project — *why* he should so industriously endeavour to exhibit me as a villain to my country, for speaking my sentiments in that place where my country had commanded me to speak them — *why* he has wantonly wounded a man, who never design'd or wish'd *him* an injury ; but has always, as far as his power extended, rendered him all the offices of civility — for *what reasons*, I say, he has thus violated the laws of *humanity* and *decency*, his own heart is best able to decide — The public, with which he endeavours to establish *his* character by destroying *that of another*, may perhaps be able to guess the *secret causes*, by which he has been transported into such unjustifiable excesses of rage and rancour against *me* — For my part, I shall avoid an enquiry, that would only lead me, I fear, to a painful discovery of the *depravity*, to which the human mind is subject.

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LEAVING then to the impartial world the judgment to be passed on Mr. *Galloway's* conduct— Leaving to *him* the enjoyment of the *solid satisfaction*, that must arise from the meritorious exploit of stabbing publicly a reputation which has hitherto escaped his *insidious attempts*, I shall endeavour to perform the task imposed on me by his cruelty, and to defend myself from those darts, which with unfriendly hands he has aimed at *my heart*.

WHEN the change of our government, after the adjournment of the assembly in *March* last, came to be the general subject of conversation, the importance of the measure filled my mind with the greatest anxiety. A severe fit of sickness had prevented my attendance when the resolves were past: but I considered that, at the next meeting of the House, the duties of the post which my country had assigned me would call upon me to act a part of more consequence, than perhaps would ever fall to my share again, in the whole course of my life. Mindful of the trust committed to me, I endeavoured to understand a matter on which so much depended.

I soon perceived, that, if a change too place, there were two things to be wished for, which there appeared to me no probability of obtaining. The first was, that the *point* on which we lately differed with the governor, and *some others* which have been earnestly urged by former assemblies, should be determined in our favour. The second was, that our *privileges should be perfectly secured*.

BUT insurmountable obstructions seemed to present themselves, *at this time*, against these attempts. “What reasonable hopes of success can we entertain, of having these points decided in our favour,

“ while those ministers who so repeatedly and warmly have approved of the proprietors insisting on them are still in power [a]?” Our danger not only is, that these points will not be decided for us; but, if the proprietors, tired and incensed, should think proper to surrender the government and make their own terms with the crown, is it not highly probable, that they have interest enough to make the change in such a manner as will fix upon us, *for ever*, those demands which appear so extremely just to the present ministers? Add to this, the “ deplorable misfortune under which we now labour, of having incurred the displeasure of his majesty and his ministers.” These reflexions induced me to think and to say — that *this* is not the proper time to attempt a change of our government.

MR. *Galloway*, by way of prelude to his answer to these observations, endeavours to shew that I have contradicted myself: but this *supposed* contradiction is founded on a *supposed* concession, which I never made — *of the necessity of a change*. My approbation of a change, if we can enjoy all the advantages we now do, is called, *A confession that a change is necessary*. But certainly it would have been more natural to construe it as it was intended, and as the sense requires — “ that, *if we are to lose nothing by the change*, I am as willing to be under the immediate government of the crown, as of the proprietors.”

AFTER this unsuccessful attempt to raise a contradiction, Mr. *Galloway* takes the trouble of attacking “ the inapposite instance,” as he calls it, relating to the duke of *Monmouth*. This instance was mentioned to confirm a preceding observation; and Mr. *Galloway*, in attempting to answer it, *unluckily for*

[a] Speech, pag. 7.

himself, points out and enforces the very truth for which it was adduced. He says, “ the duke failed ; and no wonder ; for he landed at a *time* when the king was supported in the warmest manner by the parliament, and no one circumstance to promise him success.” Thus, I say, — “ our attempt is made at a *time* when the proprietors are supported in the warmest manner by the crown, and its ministers ; and no one circumstance to promise us success.” — But, suppose the duke had waited till the parliament did *no longer* support the King ; but, when they and the whole nation, in the utmost dread of popery and arbitrary power, were looking round with impatient terror for a deliverer ; and when many circumstances promised that nobleman success ; is it evident that he would not *then* have succeeded, or that he would have been taken and put to death ? Or, if King *William* had made his attempt before the nation was properly alarmed, is it certain that the revolution would have been accomplished with such amazing facility ? Rashness ruined the one : Caution crowned the other. This is all, I intended to prove.

MR. *Galloway* then proceeds, and *supposes*, that all the determinations of the ministry were mistakes occasioned by proprietary misrepresentations. He then *supposes*, that these determinations were solely owing to the influence of two friends of the proprietors, lately deceased : And lastly he *supposes*, that now there will be a *total* alteration in ministerial resolutions.

THESE *suppositions*, I acknowledge, are as good securities as any we have, that the grand points controverted between us and the proprietors will, in case of a change, be decided in our favour, or that our privileges will be preserved. But still they seem

seem to be too sanguine. Let us remember with what *unanimity* the ministry at different times have expressed their resentment of our conduct ; and that it is only *guess-work* to imagine, their resolutions were dictated by two men.

OF one thing we are *sure* — that we are in the *utmost discredit* with the king and his ministers. The late resolves prove it. Mr. *Galloway* however flatters himself, “ that the prejudices against us are not “ so ineradicably fixed, but they may be easily overcome, and the province restored to her former “ credit.” Happy should I be, if I could perceive the least prospect of so great a blessing. By *what means* these prejudices are to be overcome, we are not informed ; nor can I conceive. Men of great abilities, and of the most perfect acquaintance with our public affairs, have been employed to remove the force of these misrepresentations, as they are called. Mr. *Franklin* and Mr. *Charles*, our Agents, spent several years in combating these prejudices ; and even Mr. *Galloway* himself, as I have been told, *elucidated* the justice of our cause with his *usual perspicuity*, in reams of writing. Yet, after all these great labours, his majesty and his ministers still retained their former sentiments. Hence, I fear, that any future efforts for this purpose, “ will be *swallowed up, and sacrificed* (as Mr. *Galloway* most elegantly expresses it) *AT the shrine of proprietary instructions, and the measures of power [b].*” In short, that they will be but *ideal shadows*, and *chimerical notions [c]*.

IN confident expectation of these improbabilities, Mr. *Galloway* is willing to risk the *perpetuating*

[b] Pretended Speech,— p. 77.

[c] *Qu.* What *Idea* can be formed of an *ideal shadow* ? and what may be the meaning of *the shrine of the measures of power* ?

those demands, which have been constantly made by the proprietors — at a *time*, when *we are certain* that the crown and its ministers look on these demands as highly just and reasonable.

ONE of his arguments for our riding post in this affair is — “ that there are many new colonies to be settled now, and that it would discourage *these* settlements, if *our* privileges were to be taken away.”

’Tis true, it will convince the emigrants, they are not to have such privileges as were granted to *us*; or, if they *have*, and shall hereafter *petition for a change*, that they will be taken from them.

BUT this information, I imagine, will be no discouragement. — There is not the same [*d*] reason to grant, nor to wish for privileges now, that existed in the persecuting days of *Charles* the Second. Grants of land on small quit-rents — furnishing the necessaries of life for the first outset — bounties on labour — and immunities from taxes for some years — with the common liberties of other *English* subjects — will do the business, without the privileges of *Pennsylvania*.

MR. *Galloway*, before he quits “ this wise policy of settling the extensive newly-acquired dominions [*e*],” as he expresses himself, takes the opportunity of making an *historical flourish* — but unfortunately furnishes “ irrefragable demonstrations [*f*]” that he is utterly unacquainted with the subject, on which he speaks.

[*d*] *America* was then so little known, that it was thought the severest kind of banishment to send people over to the colonies.

[*e*] Pretended Speech, — p. 68.

[*f*] *Id.* p. 73.

MR. *Franklin* read in the House, a short extract from Lord *Clarendon's* life, relating to *Barbados*. Mr. *Galloway* caught it as it fell from the learned member, and now confidently asserts — “that the colony of *Barbados* had, in the opinion of the ablest council, forfeited her charter privileges — And yet upon this policy only, her privileges were preserved.”

HE refers to Lord *Clarendon's* life, for this curious anecdote. What then must a man think of Mr. *Galloway*, who looks into the book, and finds — that the colony of *Barbados* did not forfeit any right — that such an opinion was never given — and that there is not a word relating to her *charter privileges*. Yet this is the truth.

THE fact was this. *Charles* the First granted the island of *Barbados* by patent to the earl of *Carlisle* — he died — his son leased it to Lord *Willoughby* for twenty-one years; appointing him governor, and reserving a moiety of the profits to himself — the civil war broke out — ended — *Charles* the Second was restored — there being eight or nine years of Lord *Willoughby's* lease to come, he prayed the king to give him a commission to be governor for that time — But the island was now much changed — it was compleatly settled during the troubles — and chiefly by officers of the king's army — so that now it was of another consideration and value than it had been — the king's customs yearly amounted to a very large sum — The planters were greatly alarmed at the thought of “depending on the earl of *Carlisle* and Lord *Willoughby* for the enjoyment of their estates, which they had hitherto looked upon as their own [g].” They applied to the king, praying that they might not be oppressed by those

[g] Lord *Clarendon's* Life — vol. iii. p. 933.

“ two lords. They pleaded, that they were the
 “ king’s subjects ; that they had repaired thither as
 “ to a *desolate place*, and had by their industry ob-
 “ tained a livelihood there, *when they could not with*
 “ *a good conscience stay in England*. That, if they
 “ should be now left to those lords to *ransom them-*
 “ *selves and compound for their estates*, they must leave
 “ *the country* ; and the plantation would be *destroyed*,
 “ which yielded his majesty so good a revenue [b].”

THEY further “ positively insisted, that the char-
 “ ter granted to the earl of *Carlisle* was *void in point*
 “ *of law* ; and prayed that his majesty would give
 “ them leave to prosecute in his name in the ex-
 “ chequer, and at their own charge, to repeal that
 “ grant ; by which they should be freed from the
 “ *arbitrary power and oppression* which would be exer-
 “ cised upon them under the colour of that charter ;
 “ and his majesty might receive *a great benefit to*
 “ *himself*, by taking the sovereignty into his own
 “ hands, to which it belonged — and in that case,
 “ they offered to make *as great an imposition* of taxes
 “ as the plantation would bear ; for the support of
 “ the king’s governor, and such other uses, as his
 “ majesty should think fit to direct [i].”

UPON this the king “ referred the consideration
 “ of the validity and legality of the patent, to his
 “ council at law ; who upon full deliberation, after
 “ the hearing of all parties, returned their opinion,
 “ *that this patent was void, and that his majesty might*
 “ *take the same into his own power* [k],” not that the
 colony had forfeited their charter privileges.

ON this report, the determination was formed in
 the king’s council. And what does this case prove

[b] Lord Clarendon’s Life — vol. iii. p. 934.

[i] Idem, p. 937.

[k] Idem, p. 938.

--but that the crown would not deprive the *proprietors* of *Barbados* of their charter, though the people earnestly requested it--though *that* people were faithful subjects, who had distinguished their loyalty by suffering in the royal cause--though a very great benefit would accrue to the crown--though a large salary was to be settled on the king's governor--and lastly, though the patent was absolutely *illegal* and *void*.

IF in *such a case*, the needy and unprincipled *Charles* would not seize upon the interests of the *proprietors* of *Barbados*, can it be conceived that his present majesty will snatch from the *proprietors* of *Pennsylvania*, without their consent, the charter that was granted in consideration of the services performed by their brave and loyal ancestor?

I THINK every man in the province, *except Mr. Galloway*, will immediately discover whether the case he has quoted will strengthen his reasoning or mine.

ANOTHER of *Mr. Galloway's* arguments is --
 "that the proprietary estate is daily increasing, and
 "thus their influence will increase; and therefore
 "they will be more likely in future, to oppose with
 "success any measures that may be taken against
 "their oppression."

To finish this argument, he closes it with an *imaginary contradiction* of mine, in my saying, "This
 "is not the proper time for a change," and afterwards declaring, "that we are not to expect more
 "success, because the *proprietaries* will have more
 "dignity, more power, and, as they will think,
 "more law on their side."

MR.

MR. *Galloway* certainly takes delight in mistakes, or he would never have committed so gross an error as he has done here. I said — it could not be expected, that our success would be greater when our “opponents become more *numerous*, and will have “more dignity, more power, and, as they will “think, more law on their side.” This was intended to prove, that we might find it more difficult, after a change, to contend, for the preservation of our privileges, with the *crown* and the *clergy* (the *opponents* here meant) than with the proprietors. But Mr. *Galloway*, with great address, by changing the word *opponents* for *proprietaries*, creates a contradiction, for his own *diversion* and the *deception* of his readers.

HOWEVER — let it be supposed, “that the proprietary estate and influence will greatly increase, “and that they become the richest subjects in *England*.” I most sincerely wish they may, since the [1] increase of their wealth must arise from the increase of the wealth and prosperity of *Pennsylvania*. These, I presume, are not things to be dreaded. *Our* power and influence must increase with *their* power and influence — and therefore, it

[1] Pretended Speech, p. 61, 62.

Mr. *Galloway* endeavours to shew, that the conduct of the proprietors has not been constantly approved by the crown and ministry, because five of the thirteen acts opposed by the proprietors were confirmed. —

But this opposition, even by Mr. *Galloway's* acknowledgment, did not proceed from any private interest of the proprietors that was affected by these Bills. They were opposed, says he, “as inconsistent with the royal prerogative *” — And surely such an opposition could not be much disapproved of by the crown, as the ministry have declared “that his majesty's royal prerogatives were “not to be trusted to the feeble hands of private individuals; who “were ever ready to sacrifice them to their private emolument †.”

* Pretended Speech, p. 72.

† Id. p. 53.

seems, we shall always be as able to cope with them, as we are now — especially if it be considered, that a *family* is more liable to accidents, than a *people*.

BUT, granting that the riches of the proprietary family shall increase in a greater proportion than the riches of this province — can it be imagined, that they will obtain any *undue influence* over the crown and it's ministers? can it be believed, that the king and parliament will suffer two or three subjects to tyrannise over a dependant colony, in whose welfare *Great-Britain* is so much interested? to reduce us to the most abject state of slavery?

THE supposition is too monstrous to be admitted — and I should be surprized to hear such language from any person, but one who thinks and writes in Mr. *Galloway's* shambling way. He [*m*] shudders at my saying “ the parliament may perhaps be induced to place *us* in the *same state* with the *royal governments*” — and yet he supposes, they will tamely tolerate our being made *slaves*.

IF our proprietors are to become such great and dreadful men — if their influence is to grow superior to justice and reason — I cannot conceive how the king's *appointment* of governors can secure us from them, any more than his *approbation*.

IF that influence shall ever be so exorbitant as it has been described, will it not prevail in the nomination of governors? or in determining their conduct? can even Mr. *Galloway* think that the king's *appointment* will protect us against this influence? If he does, I will answer him in his own words — and, if they do not convince *him*, surely he will not

[*m*] Pretended Speech, p. 70.

be so unreasonable as to expect, that they should convince *any one else*.

“LET us but consider that the experience of ages fully demonstrates wealth to be the parent of power, and the *nurse* of influence, and that an increase of wealth will as naturally *beget* an increase of power and influence, as an increase of velocity in *the falling stone* will produce more certain death.”

“LET us but take a view of the proprietary estate, what it was fifty, what twenty years ago, and what it is now, and we must be convinced *that nothing can prevent* their being the richest subjects in the English nation: and therefore subjects *of the greatest influence and power, and more likely in future to oppose with success* any measures that may be taken against their oppression. Are we to expect the same cause will not produce the same effect, and that wealth by some MAGIC CHARM in future, will, instead of producing power and influence, bring forth *its contraries*? *As vain and chimerical* as the expectation of a future Messiah to the deluded Jews [n].”

IF there is any force in these arguments Mr. Galloway — if property, from natural causes produces power, and cannot fail of having this effect — how vain and ridiculous is it to request the crown — to *separate power from property* [o]? Yet this, forsooth! is *all Mr. Galloway*, or the assembly according to his explanation, desires of his majesty.

CERTAINLY the meaning cannot be, that the king should take away their estates from the proprietors — this would be too glaringly unjust. What then

[n] Pretended Speech, p. 57.

[o] Id. p. 54.—et alibi.

can Mr. *Galloway* mean, when he desires “that the king may separate power and property,” which he declares — and, with prodigious labour, strives to prove — *inseparable*? If he means any thing, I imagine, I have discovered his meaning — and, tho’ Mr. *Galloway* has, in his performance, said many things that have surprized me — yet this is so superlatively extraordinary, that I would not admit the following construction, unless his intention was too evident to allow of any doubt. I did not think him capable of such designs. I entertained a better opinion of his loyalty. In short, he plainly means — *as he has declared it cannot be done any other way* — that his Majesty shall turn MAGICIAN — and contrive “some MAGIC CHARM, whereby wealth instead of producing power and influence shall bring forth *its* contraries [p]” — *their* contraries I suppose it should be.

THIS dread of future injuries being removed — or at least the vanity of attempting their removal, on Mr. *Galloway’s* own principles, being proved — I return to the present situation of affairs.

It is universally believed, that the present ministry are desirous of vesting the government of this province advantageously in the crown. Mr. *Franklin* has frequently said it. If this be the case, how fair an opportunity is presented to the proprietors of gratifying their resentment, if they entertain any against the province, and securing their interest at the same time, by entering into a contract with the crown, and fixing, by an act of parliament, those points, in which the ministry have constantly supported them — *upon all succeeding ages*?

MANY words are unnecessary in so clear a case as this is. Mr. *Galloway* allows, the proprietors have

[p] Pretended Speech, p. 57.

some

some sense, and that they understand their own interest. The sentiments of the ministry have been declared in their favor. From thence, I think, it may be taken for granted, that the proprietors either will not consent to a change — or that their consent will be founded on a perfect security given them for their demands, which appear so just to the king and ministry. What may facilitate this measure is, the proposal of the assembly — “that a *full equivalent* be made to the proprietors [q],” upon their parting with the government. How far these words may be construed to extend, will appear from this consideration. With the *approbation of the crown*, the proprietors now insist on certain points which, in their opinion, tend to promote their interests. This, the authority vested in them at present enables them to do. If they are divested of this authority, without any stipulations for securing their interests *hereafter*, as well as they are at *this time*, it will be said that a *full equivalent* is not made for the power they resign. This security will therefore without doubt be required — and that requisition may not appear so unreasonable in *Great-Britain* as it does here.

THIS *full equivalent* comprehends something more than the settlement of these points. The government of itself is very valuable — and surely we shall not desire the king to pay the equivalent out of his own pocket. If the change therefore is made, I do not question but it will be thought highly reasonable — *that we should pay for the blessing, which we so earnestly request.*

THE situation of our affairs being such as has been described, I could not perceive any necessity “impelling” us to seize this unhappy period, to

[q] Pretended Speech, p. 51.

plunge

plunge this province into convulsions, that might, while she was thus disordered, be attended with the worst consequences. A gentler remedy appeared to me a properer remedy.

BUT here Mr. *Galloway* exclaims — “ Shall we patiently wait until proprietary influence shall be at an end? Shall we submit to proprietary demands?” By no means! What I desire, is, vigorously to oppose those demands; and to try the force of that influence, WITHOUT RISQUING TOO MUCH IN THE CONTEST.

I THEREFORE made a proposal to the House, of a very moderate nature, which I had the pleasure of finding highly approved by a gentleman [r], whose acknowledged integrity, patriotism, abilities, and experience will always give weight to his sentiments with every impartial person. The proposal was — “ that we should desire his majesty’s judgment, on the point that occasioned the late unhappy difference between the two branches of the legislature.” By taking this step, we should have discovered the sense of the ministry on our late disputes — on other important points which have been controverted with our governors — and respecting our privileges.

THUS we should have known what success would attend us in any future attempt to effect a change — and what method would be most agreeable to his majesty. But, in the present mode of proceeding, we have acted with great zeal, I grant — but we are quite ignorant what the event will be, and whether the censures bestowed on the proprietors may not be thought in *Great-Britain* to be aimed, through *them*, at the king. In short, we embark in an en-

[r] The late speaker.

terprize of the highest importance; and then look about us to see how it may be carried on. Instead of wandring through a storm in the dark, with so facred a charge in our custody — I thought it would have been better to have waited, 'till the tempest was a little abated — or, at least, to have procured some *light* to guide us through the surrounding dangers.

I SHALL now consider the *manner* in which the present attempt to change our government is made.

MR. *Galloway* makes this general objection with great warmth to my arguments, “that they are conjectural and supposititious.”

His resentment was to be expected. How absurd must the language of *diffidence* appear to one, who never doubted — the force of his own sagacity! To one who, castigated, but not convinced, by a discovery of his *repeated errors*, still dares to decide positively in things he does not understand — and drives boldly through *public affairs*, like a *magnanimous bug* [s], through the blaze that has so often scorcht its wings — how contemptible in *his* eyes, must be the man, who modestly pursues a train of enquiry, on the unformed events of futurity — and, in his researches after truth, admits a possibility of her escaping him?

MR. *Galloway*, with a spirit of divination, *unassisted by the common modes of reasoning* — penetrates into the region of *contingencies* — and fixes with *infallible confidence* the *uncertainties* of the times to come. — Far different was the method, which the humble subject of his wrath and reproaches found it proper to pursue. Filled with anxious fears for

[s] “Yet let me flap this *bug* with *mealy wings*.” POPE.

D

the

the welfare of his country — *hesitating and apprehensive* — it was his endeavour to form a [t] judgment of things that may *hereafter* happen, from an attentive consideration of *present circumstances* and *past transactions* — the only methods to be practised by those whose disquisitions are not aided by such “active blood [u]” as Mr. *Galloway's*; to whom hesitation appears ridiculous, and apprehension absurd! And no wonder — for, if any mistake is committed, all the injury that follows, is — only the trifling loss of the PRIVILEGES OF PENNSYLVANIA.

BUT, though Mr. *Galloway* pierces through *future* with such superior intuition, yet he is subject to a mere mortal frailty in considering *present* things. Hence he *confounds* those arguments I used with respect to the *manner* of attempting a change of our government, with the arguments I offered concerning the *time*, and does not seem sensible of his mistake.

By way of explanation and introduction to what I said on the *manner* of this attempt, it was *premised* — that some event, arising from the circumstances of the proprietary family, or an act of the crown, might hereafter present us with a more *happy method* of vindicating our rights and privileges than the present. Upon this Mr. *Galloway* very gravely runs into a calculation of the lives of the proprietors and their families — and proves, *to his own satisfaction*, that their descendents, *even they, and every of*

[t] It is somewhat remarkable, that Mr. *Galloway* should with anger make an objection to my arguments, that must, in the opinion of every person but himself, operate with equal force against his own. Are not his arguments “conjectural and supposititious?” what proof is there, that any thing will be determined, according to his presumptions and guesses?

[u] Pretended Speech, p. 91.

them,

them [w], will always be wicked and cunning. One virtue however he must allow them, to take off the force of my observation — and that is — *a most uncommon harmony among themselves*. Yet, after spending four pages on this curious digression, Mr. Galloway himself must grant — that some *act* of the crown, or a *multitude* of proprietors (as it happened in *Carolina*) or a *dissention* between them though few, will be such a circumstance, as will produce the conjuncture I mentioned. But I will waive these probabilities. I will indulge Mr. Galloway so far as to suppose, they are too uncertain or remote to be expected or regarded. What will this concession prove? That none of those occurrences will afford a favourable mode of making the attempt. But does it prove the present mode to be a good one? or that any necessity is so urgent as to force us to make use of it, though a bad one? By no means! If I should see a man about to pass a broad, deep river [x], over which I had reason to think he could not swim, would it be an unwise or an unkind act in me, to advise him to walk along the bank, and endeavour to find a bridge, or a narrower or shallower place — though I had no certainty that there was such a bridge or such a place? or would this be acknowledging that he was under a *necessity* of passing the river? My advice would at least have a *chance* of saving him, and could do him no harm — for, after being disappointed in his search, he might return to the spot where I found him — and *would be at liberty to drown himself at last*.

MR. Galloway mixes all points so confusedly together, that he not only leads himself into a variety of

[w] Pretended Speech, p. 61 lin. 36. “They and every of them,” a strong and beautiful expression, frequently occurring in *Jacob's Law dictionary*, and in any book of *precedents*.

[x] Pretended Speech, p. 61.

errors, but renders it very difficult for another, in answering, to reduce into any order what he has so loosely scattered about. This I shall however endeavour to do.

HAD he attended to the objections against the *manner* of the present attempt, he might have perceived that they were *three*. The first was — that the circumstances attending this proceeding might cause others to attribute it to such passions, as are always disgraceful to public councils and destructive to the honor and welfare of a people. It certainly will be admitted, that all reproaches of this kind ought to be carefully guarded against — especially by a *dependent colony*, whose conduct has been frequently and severely reprehended.

MR. *Galloway* however usurps, in his private room, among his chairs and tables, the *absurd licence* of railing at me on this occasion, for speaking my sentiments with freedom — though I spoke in a public council — as the representative of a free people — on a subject in which their reputation and happiness were intimately concerned. Any man who thinks, will instantly perceive — that it was my *duty* to mention every thing that I apprehended would tend to secure these blessings. When the assembly was deliberating on a step that seemed to me likely to bring discredit and loss upon us, would it have become me to have suppressed my opinion? No! But it would have pleased Mr. *Galloway* and some others —

Great reward for having been a villain!

I SAID — “Our messages to the governor, and our
“resolves would discover the *true cause* of the pre-
“sent attempt” — Mr. *Galloway* grants it; and ap-
peals

peals to those resolves for my confusion. How is this charge supported? Why, the resolves mention — “public houses — commissions to judges during pleasure — and the great danger of a military force in a proprietary government” — as grievances. In like manner they mention the point lately controverted. Very well! The *contents* of the resolves are *now proved*. — But there still remains one point slipped over in silence — *Why* were these resolves *now* made? The increase of public houses had frequently been complained of before. — Commissions during good behaviour have always been wished for. — The establishment of a military force has been often attempted in the midst of war, when it was vastly more necessary than at this time. — But never ’till *now* has there been an attempt to change the government. More observations I think unnecessary. Impartial persons, who read the messages and resolves — and consider *some other circumstances* generally known — will be able to discover the TRUE CAUSE of the present attempt — and to judge, whether it may be justly attributed to passion of *any kind*. If his majesty and his ministers, whose present opinion of us is allowed to be extremely unfavorable, should be induced by our late behaviour, to think us a rash, turbulent people — it will be a misfortune to be deplored by all lovers of their country.

THE second objection against the *manner* of proceeding was, the *inconsistency*, in which we should be involved. This inconsistency is twofold. In the first place, our dissention with the governor, and this extraordinary attempt in consequence of it, may be thought by the king and the ministry to have arisen on a matter already determined by the crown. Hence our *unwillingness* to comply with the *royal pleasure*, signified to us on this head, may be called *a very improper foundation* of a request “to be more
“imme-

“ immediately subjected to the royal pleasure.” But this objection is easily obviated, by *supposing* that the king and ministry will exactly agree with the assembly in construing the controverted stipulation. I sincerely hope they may; as our construction appears to me extremely reasonable and equitable. But, of this agreement in sentiments, I desired to have some proof before we proceeded any further. We have frequently been disappointed in our warmest expectations. In public as well as in private life, he that never doubts, will often be wrong.

IN the second place — there appeared to me an *inconsistency*, in requesting a change of government from the king — and yet insisting on the preservation of privileges derogatory of the royal rights.

WE certainly prefer in our minds one of these things to the other. — Either to continue as we are — or to change, though we lose our privileges. If his majesty will not accept of the government in the same state in which it has been held by the proprietors, what shall be our choice? I do not imagine, that even Mr. *Galloway*, though he ventures to say “ we have no cause to dread a change” if all “ my fears should prove realities [y],” will dare to propose a direct renunciation of our rights. Trifling as *he* seems to think them — willing as *he* is to expose them to hazard on guesses and surmises — they are yet held in too much veneration by the good people of *Pennsylvania* — for him to *declare* his *contempt* of them. If then his majesty shall be so *unreasonable* as to insist upon exercising his authority, in case of a change, as fully in this province, as in any other under his immediate government — and we insist that he shall not; the bargain breaks off — “ and the worst consequence is (according to

[y] Pretended Speech, p. 67.

“ Mr. *Galloway*) that we must then remain (as I
 “ would have us remain) in our present situation.”
 A much worse consequence in my opinion will fol-
 low. May we not *again* be reproached with *double*
dealing and *deceit*?—The assembly’s petition to the
 crown draws a high-coloured picture of our present
 distresses.—But let me suppose Mr. *Galloway* de-
 puted to plead the public cause — an office which I
 have some reason to think, would, by no means, be
 disagreeable to him! — *If the royal ear is not deaf —*
if it will bear [z]” — these are the pleasing — the
 descriptive — and convincing strains, in which
that Ear will be addressed.

“ Most gracious sovereign! The rights of the
 “ people of *Pennsylvania* — the *most scandalous and*
 “ *corrupt of all your subjects [a]* — are fading and ex-
 “ piring under the baleful influence of proprietary
 “ ambition and power [b] — our liberties are dai-
 “ ly consuming before them [c] — our privileges
 “ are *swallowed up*, and sacrificed AT the *shrine* of
 “ proprietary instructions and the measures of
 “ power [d] — they are now but ideal shadows and
 “ chimerical notions [e] — indeed *our liberties are*
 “ *lost [f]* — and we shall soon be reduced to the
 “ servile condition of the parliament of Paris; or of
 “ the worst of slaves of the most absolute mo-
 “ narch [g]. — The fever of ambition and arbitrary

[z] A beautiful and striking repetition in the Pretended Speech,
 p. 58.

[a] Id. p. 66.—This expression is strictly agreeable to Mr.
Galloway’s argument.—For, if the corruption of the people in this
 province is one reason of his desiring a change, he must say, we are
 more corrupt than his majesty’s subjects in the rest of his domi-
 nions; otherwise we request a government under which the peo-
 ple are as bad as ourselves; and therefore the change can be of no
 service to us.

[b] Pretended Speech, p. 50. lin. 14.

[c] Id. p. 89. lin. 7.

[d] Id. p. 88.

[e] Id.

[f] Id. p. 66, 67, 68.

[g] Id. p. 66 and 76.

“ power is raging with unremitting violence in the
 “ *soul* and *active blood*, WITH MANY OTHER PARTS
 “ of our *political institution* [b], so that its *conduct* and
 “ *behaviour* is not *animated* and *directed*, as THEY
 “ ought to be [i]. The *effect* thereof has *nearly de-*
 “ *stroyed* the powers of *life* and *living motion*, and
 “ nature is *no longer* capable of struggling for relief.
 “ We therefore pray your majesty, that you and the
 “ virtuous minister [k] on whom you much rely,
 “ will make WEAPONS out of the *old contract* between
 “ the crown and our first proprietor [l] — out of
 “ the *opinion* of some very great men, your servants
 “ — and out of the *quit rents* in the lower counties, to
 “ be used for the restoration of our liberties — un-
 “ der *which circumstances* [m], it will be the highest
 “ *presumption* to oppose the *resumption* of the no-
 “ *mination* of the governor of this province, which
 “ is all the change, we intend you shall make.—
 “ Proprietary instructions, *with which your majesty is*
 “ *well acquainted*, and private interest, have imposed
 “ *thraldom* and *bondage* upon us [n]. “ The stream
 “ of justice is not only become *turbid* but *thick*, so
 “ that it can no longer *discharge its duty*. Security
 “ of life and estate is become an empty name, and
 “ the *spirit* of liberty, distressed, and worn out by in-
 “ effectual efforts for her preservation, is *verging* fast
 “ to a *dissolution*. Nothing, but a medicine ad-
 “ ministred *to this spirit* by your royal hands, can
 “ possibly revive or restore her. This medicine we
 “ now attempt to obtain, before the MIDNIGHT
 “ GLOOM approaches, and FATAL DEATH puts an
 “ end to our struggles [o]. When his majesty shall
 be so happy as to hear this eloquent address, how
 much must his *pity* be excited! If he understands it;

[b] Pretended Speech, p. 91, 92.

[i] Id. 91, 92.—Id. p. 74.

[k] Id. p. 54.

[l] Id. p. 90, 91.

[m] Id. p. 91. lin. 13.

[n] Id. p. 91. lin. 19.

[o] Id. p. 91 and 92. passim.

and shall be pleased to express his willingness to take us under his immediate care and protection, in the *same manner* with the rest of his subjects -- how must he be surprized at our refusing, or even hesitating to accept that which we have so warmly requested -- unless particular points are granted to us? How must he be *astonished*, to find that we are more afraid of being placed upon a footing with other *Englishmen* under his dominion, than of the MIDNIGHT GLOOM and FATAL DEATH [p], which are hastening to overtake us? With what justice may his gracious majesty tell us, “that we have endeavoured to impose on him, by representing ourselves as an oppressed, miserable people, standing on the brink of destruction; when, upon his hearing our cries for assistance and safety, -- mercifully stretching out his hand to relieve us, and offering us to partake of the *same happiness* enjoyed by the rest of his subjects, we reject his *implored protection* -- and thereby prove the falshood and absurdity of our pretences?”

THUS, by requesting a change, we lay ourselves under the inevitable necessity, either of quietly giving up our rights and privileges, in order to maintain a consistency in our conduct; or, of incurring the severe censure abovementioned -- unless the king will be so good natured, in consideration of the *infinite pains* we have taken to recommend ourselves to his favor -- as to be contented with the *same share of power* in this province; which his two subjects *Thomas and Richard Penn* now have.

My third objection against the *manner* of the present attempt to alter our government was -- “that

[p] Quære -- What Mr. *Galloway* means by “midnight gloom”? and what is a “death not fatal!” -- As he makes a distinction between “fatal death” and some other “death”?

“ it might be deemed in *Great-Britain* a surrender
 “ of our charter — or at least a sufficient foundation
 “ for the parliament’s proceeding to form a new
 “ constitution for us.” —

No person can *surrender* what he has not. This term, therefore, when applied to the people of *Pennsylvania*, means a giving up of the peculiar rights derived to *them*, under their charter.

THEY cannot surrender what belongs to others — and therefore *their* act cannot take away the rights of the proprietors. But should the proprietors, enraged at our behaviour and fatigued with disputes, make their own terms with the crown, and give up the royal charter — then the *surrender* may be said to be completed.

MR. *Galloway* says, — the petitions cannot be thought in any manner to surrender our privileges — because “ they *request* the enjoyment of those privileges.” But, if it be considered, that to procure peace and safety, is the design of forming societies and of establishing governments — and that these petitions expressly declare “ there is no peace and safety among us, and that we have no hopes of either being restored but by the change for which we pray [q]:” — Certainly, if we are thought to be in our senses, it will be concluded that we intend to *surrender intirely* a government, which does not answer the ends of government — even though we should be deprived of *some agreeable things* tacked to it. — For who but a *Bedlamite* would shiver in a thin silk coat, in the midst of winter, only because it had a fine lace upon it? —

[q] Pretended Speech, p. 64, 81. et alibi.

IT may seem therefore a reasonable construction of these petitions to understand them in this sense—
 “ that the petitioners will be much obliged to his
 “ majesty, if he will be so good as to put the lace
 “ on warmer coats for them — but, if he will not
 “ condescend to do that, he may keep the lace for
 “ his trouble — provided he will furnish them with
 “ coats of good *English broad cloth.*”

LET it however be supposed — that our petitions, with a resignation of the charter by the proprietors, cannot be called a *surrender* of our privileges, in strictness of law — and that the matter comes to be settled by the parliament.

HERE Mr. *Galloway* launches out on a flood of words. — Here he overwhelms me with his *irrefragable demonstrations.* — “ Will the king, lords, and
 “ commons (says he) be the dupes of the mi-
 “ nistry [*r*]; and, without consideration — without
 “ the least reason, in an instant pass a law — *to blast*
 “ *our liberties* [*s*] — *to take away our rights* [*t*],
 “ and *deprive an affectionate people of a few privi-*
 “ *leges* [*u*]?” Will they act so black — so base — so
 “ unjust a part [*w*]?”

INCONSISTENCY! that would be astonishing in any man, but him who is the author of it!

How can the king and parliament be *unjust*, in saving us from *midnight gloom* and *fatal death*? How can they blast those liberties *which are already lost* [*x*]? take away our rights, when *security of life and estate is now become an empty name* among

[*r*] Pretended Speech, p. 70.

[*s*] Id. p. 71.

[*t*] Id. p. 69.

[*u*] Id. p. 65.

[*w*] Id. p. 72.

[*x*] Id. p. 66 and 65.

as [y]? or deprive us of our privileges, which are long since swallowed up and sacrificed at the shrine of proprietary instructions and the measures of power, and so turned into ideal shadows [z]?

CUNNING and cruel king! to strip thy subjects of that which they have not. "Look history through [a]," it cannot furnish an instance of such royal craft and unkindness, except that recorded by Sir Richard Blackmore, of an ancestor of Prince Voltiger,

*A painted vest Prince Voltiger had on;
Which, from a naked Piet, his grandsire won.*

I will not pursue this point any further. I will suppose, in Mr. Galloway's favor, that what he calls his speech was so long, and took so much time in making, that he forgot, in forming one part, what he had written in another.

To attend him still further in his political rambles, for some respect is due, to be sure, to "one of the happy instruments of relieving his country [b]," and its "long supporter [c]," I will grant, out of complaisance to him, in order to give his argument its fullest force, that he has told a great many falsehoods — that we are not in the deplorable condition he has represented us — and that our liberties, rights, and privileges, which he has taken so much pains to blast, are still fresh and flourishing.

Why then (says he) it will be unjust in the king and parliament to deprive us of them; and we

[y] Pretended Speech, p. 91.

[z] Id. p. 77.

[a] A fine expression in Pretended Speech, p. 55. lin. 17.

[b] Pretended Speech, p. 74.

[c] Id. p. 48. Quære, If this term is applicable to Mr. Galloway, who is a short man?

have “irrefragable proofs [d]” of the justice of the house of commons, *because*, in the years 1718 and 1748, they would not pass an act to give royal instructions the force of laws in *America*.”

Thus he concludes, that, because the house of commons would not make the king *absolute monarch* of *North-America*, which would have been injurious to the rights of *Great-Britain* — THEREFORE they will not allow him to exercise in *one province* that authority, which he exercises in every other part of his dominions. — *Truly*, an uncommon, but not a very syllogistical, method of arguing!

LET Mr. *Galloway*, when he shall be employed in “supporting the expiring liberties of his country,” step into the *British* senate — and endeavour to convince *them* of this injustice.

WHEN he has made a *speech* for this purpose, suppose some unconverted member should thus address him — “Sir, we are perfectly satisfied in *what rank* we are to place your abilities — the *proofs are irrefragable* — but as to the point you have insisted on, you do not seem to express yourself *with clearness*. You speak of an “*impelling necessity* to come under the king’s immediate government” — and yet you say it will be “unjust to bring you under it, on the same conditions with his other subjects.” I should therefore be glad to have a short, plain answer to this question — *Are the inhabitants of Pennsylvania more or less happy than the inhabitants of the royal governments?*”

How will our deputy extricate himself from this dilemma? If we are more happy, *why* do we desire a change — or why does Mr. *Galloway* talk of the

[d] Pretended Speech, p. 73.

“expiring

“ expiring liberties of his country ?” If we are less happy—*why* do we *dread* it ? why are we unwilling to become in *every respect* like those who are happier than ourselves ? or where is the *injustice* of placing us in the same situation ?

BEFORE I quit this point, I must make one observation more to shew, by Mr. *Galloway's* contradiction of himself (though I am almost tired with taking notice of his contradictions), that, notwithstanding the rage with which he has asserted the contrary—he really thinks our privileges will be indangered, if the parliament should take the change of our government into their consideration.

HE employs many pages to prove there is *no danger*, though the affair should come before the parliament.—Yet, speaking of a change in the case of an infant proprietor, he says—“ Is it to be by a
“ *parliamentary enquiry*, and an act of the *British legislature*, in consequence of such enquiry ? *If it is*,
“ the *rights* of the *people* may be *involved* in the *en-*
“ *quiry*, which the *mode intended* by the house is *cal-*
“ *culated* to avoid. Hence it appears, that this period,
“ of all others, will be attended with most difficulty
“ to the crown, and *danger* to our *privileges* [e].”

THUS he acknowledges, that the house of assembly, in making the present attempt, have endeavoured to avoid a parliamentary enquiry, *because* the *rights* of the *people* would be *involved* in it to the *danger* of our *privileges*.—

UPON the whole that has been said with regard to a change—and the *safety* or the *danger* of the measure—I thus conclude.

[e] Pretended Speech, p. 62, 63.

IF it *cannot* be accomplished — the *manner* in which it has been attempted will load this province with new disgrace. If it *is* accomplished, we are utterly ignorant *how* it will be. The fate of our privileges, and the great points controverted between us and the proprietors, are now to be *everlastingly* determined. Many unhappy circumstances attend us in the enterprize.

HERE then I fix the argument. On *this point* I rely. Whatsoever may be the force of the reasonings on either side — however probable or improbable the success may be — yet, after placing every thing in the strongest light against myself — *it must be granted* — that the event is *undoubtedly uncertain* — and that the persons desiring a change know *no more*, what will be the consequences — than they know what will be the figure of next year's clouds.

A MEASURE in which the happiness of so many thousands is involved, ought not therefore to have been pursued in so hasty and unguarded a manner. *Precautions* should have been taken. *Securities* should have been obtained. This was — this is — *my firm opinion* — and should a change be happily obtained, without injuring a single privilege, or settling a single point against us — should the conduct of the assembly and the people in this affair be *intirely approved* by his majesty and his ministers — I shall always *rejoice* — that I was not concerned in exposing the *inestimable interests* of my country to HAZARD.

I PROCEED to other points. Mr. *Galloway* takes great pains to prove, that the “ representatives of a
“ people have a right to change the constitution,
“ without

“ without the consent of the people [f];” *because*
 “ almost every government in the civilized world
 “ has been changed” — *by force and injustice: Because*
 “ the revolution was brought about” — *with such*
universal consent, that King William was established on
the British throne, without fighting a battle: Because
 “ the first frame of our government was altered” —
being found impracticable, and that its privileges could
scarcely be exercised or enjoyed [g]: Because “ six parts
 “ in seven of the assembly have a right to alter the
 “ charter” — *by a law with the Governors assent:*
Because he dignifies himself and those who join with
him, with the title of “ long supporters and lovers
“ of their country” — and charges, with great truth,
to be sure, all who differ in opinion from them, with be-
ing the friends of arbitrary power?

[f] “ It can never be thought, that the people intrust any re-
 “ presentatives with their capital privileges, further than to use
 “ their best skill to secure and maintain them. They never so de-
 “ legated or impowered any men, that *de jure* they could deprive
 “ them of that qualification; and *a facto ad jus non valet argumen-*
tum: For the question is not, what may be done? But what
 “ ought to be done? Overseers and stewards are impowered, not
 “ to alienate, but preserve and improve, other mens inheritances.
 “ No owners deliver their ship and goods into any man’s hands to
 “ give them away, or run upon a rock; neither do they consign
 “ their affairs to agents or factors without limitation: All trusts
 “ suppose such a fundamental right in them that give them, and for
 “ whom the trusts are, as is altogether indissoluble by the trustees.
 “ The trust is, the liberty and property of the people; the limita-
 “ tion is, that it should not be invaded, but be inviolably preserved,
 “ according to the law of the land.”

WILLIAM PENN’S works, vol. i. p. 682. &c.

“ When *Henry the Fourth of France* and his minister the duke of
 “ *Sully* formed the glorious and benevolent scheme of giving peace
 “ and happiness to *Europe* by reducing it into a kind of great com-
 “ monwealth, which was to be effected *by changing the government*
 “ *of several states*; such was their regard to the first principles of
 “ justice and the rights of mankind, that it was determined, that no
 “ step should be taken, *without carefully and deliberately consulting*
 “ *the people of the several nations*, who would be affected by their
 “ measures.”

SULLY’S Memoirs, vol. v.

[g] Pretended Speech, p. 80.

IN the *same striking method* of arguing, he attempts to prove — *that* the petition for a change ought not to alarm a free people, *because*, “ though it calls for “ a military establishment among us,” yet this is only shewing our desire, that a military force *may* be fixed, which “ already *is* fixed:” or, in other words, “ it is only discovering our *heartly approbation* “ of a *disagreeable measure*” — *that* “ a military establishment is already established [g]” (to use his own words), *because* there are *some soldiers* in garrison at our advanced forts — for *these* he certainly means by the “ military establishment already established,” or nothing — *that* a military force in a *dependent colony*, lodged in the hands of the *king*, is *less dangerous* to liberty, than in the hands of a *subject* — *that* it is the strongest evidence of the *prudence* and *public spirit* of *such a colony*, to represent themselves as a set of *ruffians*, amongst whom there is no safety for men of virtue, nor any respect for government, but all things are involved in *anarchy* — and therefore humbly to pray, that his majesty will be pleased to send over some regiments to instruct them in the *gentle lessons* of *duty* and *obedience* — *that* this will not furnish a pretence to send over *more regiments* than are desired — nor to make us *pay* for these blessings of *swords and bayonets*, which we have *requested* — or, if these inconveniences should follow — *that* they will be greatly overbalanced by the advantages of the civil war that would probably ensue, if these troops should be employed, as Mr. *Galloway* would wish them to be.

THESE are his arguments and the tendency of them on these points. Arguments! — Yielding such ample room for the entertainment of the public, that I hope some gentleman, who has more

[b] Pretended Speech, p. 87. lin. 17, 18.

leisure than I have, will divert the world with the strictures upon them they deserve. I pass on to matters, in which I am more particularly concerned — I mean, to answer those charges which Mr. *Galloway* has made against me.

THE first of these is, “ that my late conduct has
“ been influenced by a restless thirst after promo-
“ tion ; a fondness to serve the purposes of power,
“ from an expectation of being rewarded with posts
“ of honour and profit.”

IN answering such a charge as this, Mr. *Galloway* might perhaps have some advantage over *me*.

’Tis true, I cannot boast of being a “ long sup-
“ porter of the rights of the people [b] ;” since it is but lately, that my youth has been favoured with any public marks of their approbation. I have not heated the minds of men with inflammatory harangues — and while they have been weakly wondering at my public spirit, found myself *rewarded in gold*, for the breath I have wasted. I have not *every year*, since I have been a representative, given myself an *office of profit* — so far from it, that I have not taken *even a single farthing* for my wages during the whole time I have been in the Assembly, nor in my whole life touched a mite of public money. I have not enriched myself with a *most lucrative post*, torn from the *old age* of a worthy man, who was grey headed long before my birth. I have not, while the *shop* [i] was open for the sale of laws, and good substantial purchases might have been made — wasted the public wealth, in buying at an exorbitant price those that would not last a *twelve month*. I have not *lined* my pockets, and the pockets of all my de-

[b] That is, in Mr. *Galloway*’s sense of this expression.

[i] Preface to Pretended Speech, p. 4. lin. 27.

pendents,

pendents, with the spoils of my country, infamously plundered in *vile jobs*, while, with unbounded confidence, she trusted her stores to my faith. I have not bought with the public money *commissions of judges* in all the courts where I practise, for *my most intimate friends*. I have not attempted to abolish that sacred right of *Englishmen*, the right of *trial by a jury*. I have not juggled in *dirty cabals*, about the offices of *chief justice* and *attorney general* — with *competent salaries to be annexed to them*. I have not taken raw councils in *taverns*, for regulating the conduct of *Pennsylvania*. In short, I have not in all my *public conduct* had an eye to my *private emolument* — and therefore I have not the consolation to reflect, that I found this province in credit, and that while I have been *drumming* — *merely for her good, as I pretended* — my interests have *advanced* [k], as *her* interests have *declined*, and that I am now possess'd by *my popularity alone* of a considerable estate, while *she* is sunk into disgrace.

I CANNOT boast indeed of such exploits as these — and I sincerely pray, that my mind may be never tainted with the base ambition of rising by *sordid practices*. No dignities can adorn his character, who has attained them by *meanness*.

WITH *equal scorn* do I behold him, who endeavours to recommend himself, either to *men of power*,

[k] This was the fate of unhappy *Athena*; which saw her pretended patriots thriving in proportion to her misfortunes.

“ Cast your eyes, I beseech you, upon those men, to whom you
 “ owe these rare monuments of their administration. Some of
 “ them were raised from poverty to affluence, others from obscurity
 “ to splendor; some have built magnificent houses, others have
 “ acquired large tracts of valuable lands; and the lower the for-
 “ tune of the state has fallen, the higher has that of much people
 “ risen.” DEMOSTHENES, in the second *Clytemnestra*.

or to the *public*, by flattering their passions or errors, and by forfeiting his honor and integrity.

THE good man, who is guided through life by his conscience and reason, may, in *particular instances*, offend even honest and wise men—but his *virtue* will naturally produce an *uniformity* in his conduct upon the whole, that will discover his probity, and procure him the general approbation of the worthy.

THESE sentiments perhaps may prove destructive to one, who designs to establish his reputation and felicity on the basis of a party—since it is highly improbable, that any man will be long esteemed by a party, unless he is bound to it by PREJUDICES, as well as by PRINCIPLES [1].

[1] This sentiment is so strongly confirmed by a beautiful passage in SULLY's Memoirs, that it is hoped the inserting of it will afford pleasure to every one who reads it.

The duke of SULLY, being a *Protestant*, was appointed by his master, Henry the Fourth of France, to preside in a general assembly of the *Protestants*, which was called to meet at *Chatelleraut*.—The duke was *their faithful friend* through his whole life, and strictly attached to them by *principle*; but the warmth of their temper led them into many things, in this assembly, in which he could not join with them—without offering violence to his own sentiments—and integrity.—

The following is the account he gives of his conduct. “A common prejudice prevails among all sorts of religion; a man is never supposed to be a *sincere professor* of the one he has embraced, unless he supports it *obstinately*, even in *such points*, where it is most *visibly wrong*.” The same remark may perhaps be found true in all parties. “Upon this footing, I confess, the method I was determined to pursue, might, from *some persons*, draw upon me the epithets of *false brother*, *deserter*, and, if they please, *traytor*: However, it was not the approbation of *such as those*, that I proposed to obtain, but of persons, who, of *whatever party or religion they were*, would, in their judgment of *my conduct*, preserve the balance of *equity and disinterestedness*. If ever religion admits of the assistance of *policy*, it ought to be of a *policy pure, simple, and upright as itself*; any other may indeed appear to *serve* it, but does not in *reality*, and sooner or later never fails to ruin it.”

“Having determined to be guided by no other principle in my

To

To support the atrocious charge he has made against me, Mr. *Galloway* produces no kind of proof — except my differing in opinion from him be proof. But, if this be admitted, then Mr. *Norris*, Mr. *Richardson*, and the two other gentlemen who differed from him, are villains also, influenced by the same views attributed to me.

THIS would be too daring a charge, and more difficult perhaps for Mr. *Galloway* to support, than to crush, by *calumnies* and *conspiracies*, a young man, who has excited more than one passion in more than one man's breast.

HAD I intended to recommend myself to the government, I certainly might have given the sentiments I delivered in the House, a more courtier-like air than they now bear. Had I intended this, I should not have been one of the *first* and *warmest* to declare my *fixed resolution*, not to admit of the governor's construction of the stipulation he disputed with us; nor should I have steadily persisted in this opposition *to the last*.

“ transactions with the *assembly*, I thought I could not too carefully
 “ avoid all appearances of affectation or disguise in my conduct;
 “ that those who were influenced by an *imprudent zeal*, or actuated
 “ by a *spirit of cabal*, might have no hopes of *gaining* or *seducing*
 “ me: Therefore, from the beginning, I shewed myself solicitous to
 “ support, on this occasion, THAT CHARACTER by which the *pub-*
 “ *lic* was to know *how I would act on every other*; that is, of a man
 “ sincerely attached to the *true principles and interest* of the *protestant*
 “ *religion*, yet incapable of drawing the *false consequences*, which
 “ many of the protestants did, or of approving their *irregular pro-*
 “ *ceedings*: The *speech* I made at the opening of the *assembly*, which
 “ lasted *half an hour*, was wholly *calculated* to produce *this effect*,
 “ without troubling myself to consider, whether it would give plea-
 “ sure or offence to the greatest number.” SULLY'S Memoirs,
 vol. iv.

HAD

HAD I intended this, I should not have been the *only man* in the House, who *constantly refused* to assent to the supply bill, *because* the money emitted by it was made a legal tender in payment of all demands, “except proprietary rents”—when *that exception* might have been safely extended (as was granted by the most distinguished members) to the *rents of all other persons*—who would then have been *as well* secured as the proprietors, and a distinction in their favour alone avoided.

ONE thing more I beg leave to mention, since Mr. *Galloway* compels me to speak of myself. I was appointed to carry the bill to the governor the second time for his assent, after he had once refused it. This was long before the change of government was talked of. On my delivering it, some conversation arose between us on the subject, Mr. *Shippen* the secretary being present. As the passage of the bill was of the utmost importance to his majesty’s service and the good of the public, I took the liberty, though my acquaintance with the governor was very slight, of mentioning several reasons to prove, that the assembly’s construction of the disputed stipulation was extremely equitable; consistent with the established rules of explaining a sentence capable of two meanings; and therefore ought to be admitted—and that his honour’s conduct in passing the bill, as it then was framed, would not be disapproved of in *England*. I further added, that I was persuaded, his refusal would throw every thing into the greatest confusion.

BEING soon after taken ill and confined to my room, so anxious was I to prevent any difference at that time between the governor and assembly, that I sent for a gentleman, whom I knew to be intimately

mately acquainted with the governor ; and, urging every thing I could think of, to convince him that our bill ought to be passed as we had formed it, I intreated him to go to the governor, and endeavour to prevail on him to give his assent.

I HOPE *this* cannot be called the conduct of a man influenced by “ mischievous passions destructive of public liberty.”

ANOTHER charge brought against me by Mr. *Galloway* is, that I neglected my duty of attending in the House, and never spoke my sentiments till it was too late.

MR. *Galloway's* behaviour in making this charge, is a plain proof *to what lengths* he will proceed in hopes of injuring *me*. The first time, since I have been a representative of this province, that a change of government was mentioned and debated in the assembly, was on Saturday the 24th day of March last, on the governor's sending down to them his message absolutely refusing to pass the supply bill, unless the stipulation was literally complied with. *That day* the assembly's answer was composed and sent — “ the frequent motions, with the solemn debate” Mr. *Galloway* talks of, made — the resolves past — and the House adjourned to the 14th of May.

MR. *Galloway must be conscious*, that this day, and the day before, I was confined to my chamber, and mostly to my bed, by a severe attack of the fever and ague. He knows, that on the *Thursday* before, I was so ill, that, there not being a sufficient number of members without *me*, those who were met, intended to come and sit at my house ; and that, to save the gentlemen this trouble, I determined

to wait on *them*, and was carried up in the late speaker's chariot, which he was so kind as to send for me, it being a rainy day.

THIS state of my health at that time being a fact well known to many persons, and particularly to Mr. *Galloway*, how *cruel* and *unjust* is it to blame me for not attending, when it was impossible — and when, if it had been possible, *I had not the least suspicion*, that any thing of such vast importance would come into consideration.

ON the meeting of the House, the 14th day of last May, according to their adjournment, I constantly attended *every day*, until this important matter was determined, except on *Monday* the 21st — on which day there was no House, only eighteen members meeting, Mr. *Galloway* and many others being absent. The following days, the petition for a change came in — were read — as other petitions were — lay on the table — and not a word spoken on the subject.

Thus business went on till *Wednesday* the 23d, when I was prevented *for the first time* from attending the House by a fever — which, as it was very injurious to my health, would also, if Mr. *Galloway's* charitable and humane wishes could prevail, prove destructive to my reputation. *This day* the matter was *started*. *In vain* did the speaker recommend the deferring to take any resolution, till the House was more full — and the absent members *then in town* could attend — He desired that the affair might be put off *to the next day* — *in vain* — the debate was begun — quickly determined — a committee appointed to prepare a draught of the petition — that draught made — brought in — presented — read —

THE next day, though still extremely indisposed, I attended — and was surpris'd to find so much business *of the utmost consequence* had been done in so short a time — and though I could have wish'd that *such a step* had not been taken, without allowing me and every other member, *of whose attendance there was any probability*, an opportunity of offering our sentiments; yet I comforted myself with reflecting, that though it had been resolv'd, “that a petition should be drawn,” yet it was not resolv'd, “that any petition should be presented;” and that I should be at liberty to offer my opinion hereafter. I was determin'd therefore to attend diligently; and to take the *first opportunity*, which would be on the second reading of the petition, to oppose it. This I was induc'd to do, by considering, that, if I did not say any thing till the question was put for *transcribing* or *signing* in order to be presented, it would look very odd for me to be silent so long, and that it would answer no purpose.

ACCORDINGLY, on the second reading of the petition, which was the *first opportunity I ever had*, since the change of government was attempted, I spoke against it.

THE only objection *then* made by Mr. Galloway and every other member who spoke on the occasion was — that I had offer'd my sentiments *too soon* to the House — and that I should have *staid* for the question to *transcribe* or *sign* the petition.

THAT I did not act with any stupid and useless reserve in lying by till this time, was never dreamt of by any member who knew *why* I had been detain'd at home, whenever I *was* detain'd.

How vain is his attempt who strives to please *all men?* or indeed to please one man at *all times?* Mr. Galloway and others *then* said, that I spoke *too soon*. He and some more *now* say, I spoke *too late*. Why too late? were not my arguments as well understood *then*, and had they not the *same force*, as if they had been used before? and, if they proved the measure to be *dangerous* and *improper*, ought they not, *in a matter of such importance to the public*, to have been as much regarded, as if they were *one day older?*

If this affair had not been *so quickly decided*, I never should have been charged with omitting to speak in time. But I must not quit Mr. Galloway. What must the public think of a man who dares to abuse them by the grossest deceptions, with the pious intention of injuring another? He says, “that, during the time of the *several debates* respecting the change of government, I *seldom* attended, and was absent when the important one came on, which issued in the resolve to adjourn and consult the people.”

YET the candid Mr. Galloway knows — that there never was any debate in the assembly, since I have been a member, respecting the change of government — until that which issued in the resolve to adjourn — and *that I was then ill*. Again, he says, “at the next meeting (meaning that in May) *several motions* were made to bring this resolution to an issue, and, after *great deliberation*, it was resolved by a majority of 27 to 3, that a committee should be appointed to bring in the petition to his majesty to resume the powers of government. — But at none of these debates and resolutions was I present, though I well *knew*, or at least

“ least had great reason to *expect*, *this business was in*
 “ *continual agitation.*”

YET the correct Mr. *Galloway* knows, that there never was a motion — or debate — or resolution, concerning this matter, upon the meeting of the house in May — until *Wednesday* the 23d day of the month, when I was taken sick, as has been mentioned — and that *I attended as diligently as himself till that day.*

THIS account of the time when every transaction passed in the house — and of my attendance, is taken from the *minutes* of assembly, and the *book* for entering the attendance of the members — both which I have carefully looked over in the presence of Dr. *Moore*, the clerk, who therefore is perfectly acquainted with the truth of every thing I have averred.

ANOTHER charge against me is, that “ I formed
 “ my thoughts into order, and reduced what I had
 “ to say, into writing, in an *unparliamentary* way.”

I ACKNOWLEDGE myself guilty of taking some pains to put my thoughts into order, and that my notes were long and exact, that I might thereby be enabled to deliver my sentiments with clearness. I regarded this as a duty, upon an occasion where such an interesting subject was to be discussed — and I was *encouraged* to use *this mode* — because I once before had used it, and received such *public praises* from the present speaker, for introducing a method highly commended, and the next day imitated, by him, as afforded me the sincerest pleasure — and I hope will “ serve to console me, by balancing the
 “ calumny with which I am loaded, *because* I would

“not go THROUGH with *measures* [m],” which my conscience and reason commanded me to oppose.— A conduct! I am DETERMINED, whatever *moon* shines on me or *withdraws* her beams, upon all occasions, STEADILY TO PURSUE.—And as its *own reward* is sufficient for *me*, I beg leave to restore to the gentleman’s *brows*, from which it *once fell* [n], the “laurel’d” wreath, that, *unenvied, unsought, and unwished for* by me, he has been pleased — *with what design* I will not presume to guess — to place upon *mine*.

MR. *Galloway* also accuses me of having promised him a copy of my speech, and of not performing my promise. Here he is egregiously mistaken. I told him he should have the copy that night it was delivered, *if I could get it ready*. The house broke up late in the evening. He soon after called upon me. It was not ready. He told me it would be *too late*, if he had it not soon. I did not then understand *his meaning*, as I did not in the least apprehend, the most important matter that ever came before the house of assembly, was to be decided with less deliberation than is generally bestowed on things of much slighter moment. Next morning I took the copy to the House in my pocket. No one called for it. I did the same in the afternoon. The like

[m] Preface to Pretended Speech, p. 32. “I would only advise him carefully to preserve the panegyrics with which” the proprietary faction “have adorned him: In time, they may *serve to console him, by balancing the calumny they shall load him with, when he does not go THROUGH with them in all their measures*: He will not probably do the one, and they will then assuredly do other.—There are mouths that can blow hot as well as cold, and blast on your *brows* the bays their hands have placed there.— *Experto crede Roberto*. Let but the *moon* of proprietary favour *withdraw* its *shine* for a moment, and that great number of the principal gentlemen of *Philadelphia*, who applied to you for a copy of your speech, shall immediately despise and desert you.”—

[n] *Experto crede Roberto*. Preface to Pretended Speech, p. 32.
silence

silence was observed. I did not chuse to shew any forwardness in forcing it on those who seemed willing to forget it. Had I acted otherwise, I should have been called impudent and conceited by those who are fond of bestowing epithets.

MR. *Galloway* says, “ that I attempted to deliver
 “ my objections against the measure *ore tenus*; but
 “ finding every thing I offered judiciously and sensibly
 “ refuted by several members, I was obliged to
 “ retreat to my speech in writing, which, after a
 “ short introductory apology, I read in a manner
 “ not the most deliberate.”

As to the last part of this whimsical charge, I shall not pretend to give any answer; because that would be in some measure allowing Mr. *Galloway* capable of judging, what is a “ deliberate manner” of speaking.

As to the first part — any man but Mr. *Galloway* would have discovered *why* I began to speak, without recurring to my notes. The resolves were past — and the petition ordered to be drawn in my absence. I never had heard the change spoke of in the house — and did not know, but by information of others, the reasons by which the members had been influenced. Before I offered my sentiments, it was therefore necessary for me to discover the arguments that would be used against me. On the information I had received, I had prepared my answer; but to make this answer appear with propriety, I thought it requisite to have the arguments of those who desired a change repeated before the house. I threw out general objections, and desired to know what reasons could be thought sufficient to engage the house in so hazardous a measure? Then the “ judicious and sensible members” Mr.

Galloway mentions, and he among them — for that phrase, I suppose, is his way of complimenting himself — discovered all the arguments on which they relied. — They proved to be the same I expected; and I “retreated to my speech,” which was prepared to answer them.

THE last objection made by Mr. *Galloway*, of which I shall take notice, is, “that the speech, as printed, is different from that delivered — and that the preface sufficiently *demonstrates* by whose hands it has been dressed up, and with what views it has been published.”

HERE he is again mistaken. The printed speech is exactly the same with that I pronounced, except the corrections and additions I made to complete the sense, the evening before it was to be delivered to the members as is abovementioned — and except some slight alterations in a few places. *I further declare*, that I have not received the least assistance from any person in composing or correcting it; not even so much as the addition of a single word; and that no man ever saw it, or knew that I had written it, except my clerk, who transcribed it — until it was delivered in the House.

As to the preface, it makes no *demonstrations* that can affect *me*. Finding that Mr. *Galloway* and his emissaries were traducing me in every company, and misrepresenting every thing I had said — I thought these aspersions might be removed, by laying before the public the reasons by which I had been induced to act as I did. This consideration had the more weight with me, on receiving a letter from some gentlemen in this city, desiring a copy of the speech.

THEY

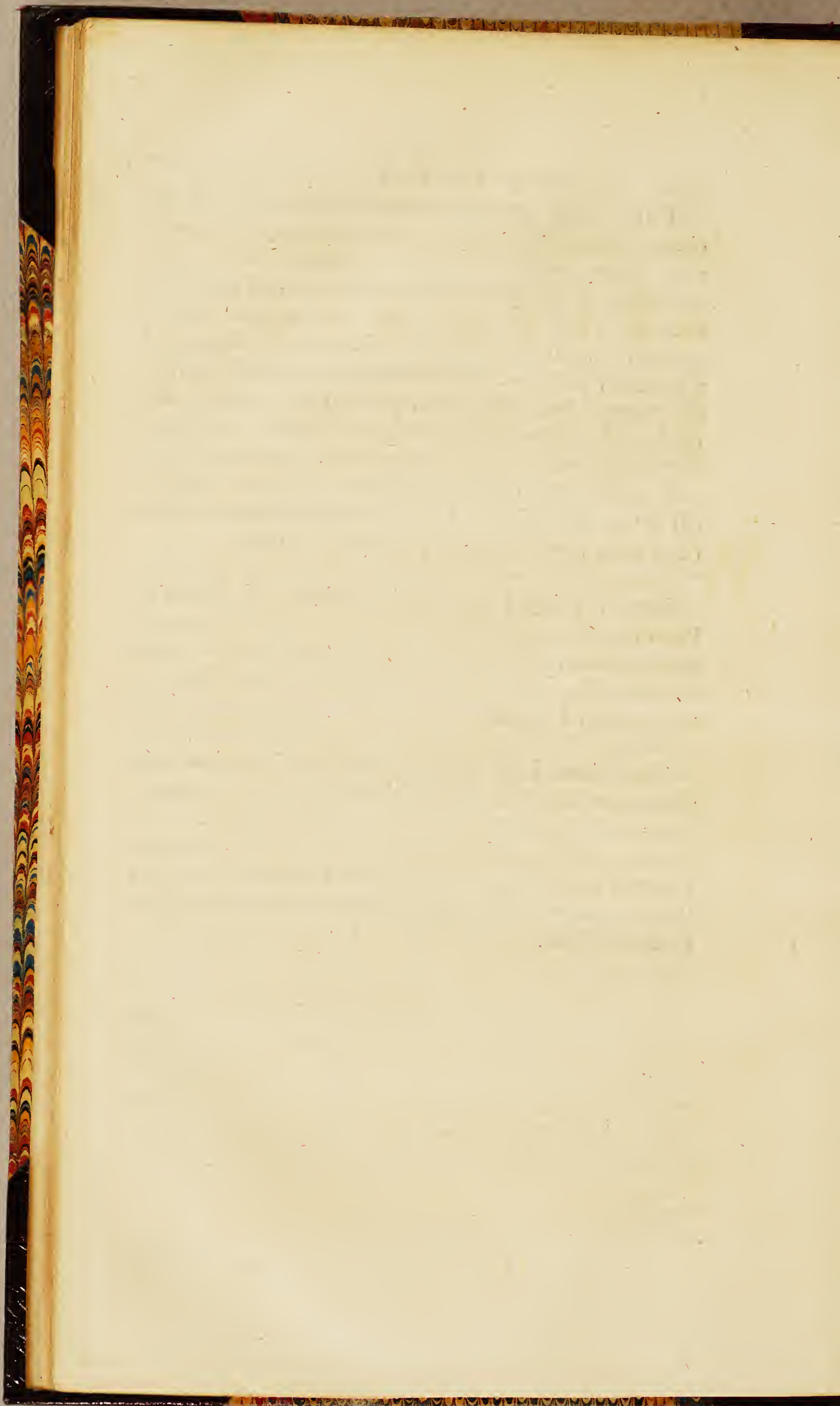
THEY being my constituents — and men of the clearest characters, I thought it my duty to comply with their request. I sent a copy to them — and they had it printed with such a title and in such a manner as they thought proper, *without ever consulting me*; which could not conveniently be done as I was out of town. — For immediately after delivering the copy, I was obliged to go into the country for my health. I went to the *Ferseys*. While I was there, the preface was written and printed. I never saw it. — I never was made acquainted with its contents till it was published. I do not even know at this time who wrote it, but by common report.

EVERY thing I have said on these last heads is known to be true by my friends; whose virtue and good opinion I too much revere to appeal to them as witnesses, if I was not conscious of the *sincerity* with which I speak.

THUS have I *faithfully* laid before the public my whole conduct relating to the change of our government, and the reasons on which it was founded. If sensible and good men approve of my behaviour, I quit without regret the applauses of others, and all the attendant advantages, to those who think proper to court them.

JOHN DICKINSON

A P P E N D I X



A P P E N D I X.

*What sin of mine could merit such a fate?
That all the shot of dullness now must be
From this thy BLUNDERBUSS discharg'd on me!*

POPE.

WEAKNESS and ignorance, when attended by modesty, are naturally entitled to pardon and to pity. But when they impudently pretend to the characters of wisdom and knowledge—when they aim at power, which they understand not how to exercise—and to honours, which they understand not how to deserve—when they make use of their *good fortune* in life to wound their country—inso-
lently to *abuse* those who *know* and *despise* them—and when, with proud and solemn formality, they *demand* a respect by no means due to them—*then* they become the proper objects of *contempt* and *ridi-
cule*, if not of *hatred*.

It is not my intention to trouble myself with observations on Mr. *Galloway's* continual breaches of the rules of grammar [o]; his utter ignorance of

[o] “But, Sir, let me ask, what “public good”, what service to
“our country can we do, when proprietary *instructions* and proprie-
“tary *private interest* is to enslave our judgment, and to rule in
“our councils?” Pretended Speech, p. 76. at the bottom.

“Besides, Sir, I have seen the opinion of some very great men,
“his majesty’s servants, and often near his person, that the *powers*
“of government is an interest that cannot be transferred or alien-
“ed.”—Pretended Speech, p. 43. *Pennsylvania* edit.—Corrected,
in the Edition reprinted at *London*, to “POWER of government
“is” &c.

H

the

the English language; the *pompous obscurity* and *sputtering prolixity* reigning through every part of his piece; and his innumerable and feeble tautologies [p]. *This labour would be too great.* I only intend to present to the public, stript of that *bundle of words* in which he has rolled them up, a small collection of his rhetorical flowers and figures. Sorry am I to say it — *flowers without fragrance* — and *figures without force*. Yet perhaps their *novelty* may recommend them.

SOME authors have industriously endeavoured in their writings to *surprize* their readers — and some readers have thought this a great merit in authors. With gentlemen of this taste, Mr. *Galloway* must be a darling writer — for no man ever possess't so *surprizing* a way of *surprizing* his readers. A few instances will discover his excellence in this kind.

“ LET us but consider, says he, that the experience of ages fully demonstrates *wealth* to be the parent of power, the *nurse* of influence: and that an increase of wealth will as naturally *beget* an increase of power and influence, as an increase of velocity, in *the falling stone*, will produce more certain death [q].”

IN the third line of this simile, *wealth* is the *nurse* of influence — but in the fourth, this *nurse* is the *begetter* of influence — a transition somewhat sudden and odd — but it does not stop here — for, three pages further [r], this *begetting nurse* is turned into

[p] Pretended Speech — passim — “ greatest wealth and most invaluable jewels” — “ bondage and thralldom” — “ spending and wasting” — “ fruitless and ineffectual” — “ conduct and behaviour” — “ such horrid guilt, such heinous offences” — “ groundless fears and rightful apprehensions” — &c. &c. &c. &c.

[q] Pretended Speech, p. 57.

[r] Id. p. 60. lin. 13.

a *weapon*, and put into the hands of its own child, INFLUENCE: What now could a reader expect, that this wicked child, *improbus ille puer* [s], would do with the *nurse* that *begat* him, changed into a *weapon*.

WILL he cut and destroy? No! With *that weapon*, he will — what will he do? “*En-crease* [t] our “discredit, and the ministerial displeasure.” What *vivacity* of invention? what *uncommonness* in the figure? what *strength* in the expression?

BUT this is not the only beauty of this curious simile. What *precision* is there in the expression of *the falling stone*? for what would an increase of velocity signify to any thing else but a *stone*? or to any other stone but *the fall-ing stone*? Besides, how exactly has Mr. *Galloway* provided some unlucky *head* for this stone to fall upon, in order to produce “more certain death?”

MR. *Galloway*'s ingenuity, in forming the extraordinary *weapon* abovementioned out of the *nurse*, is nothing, when compared with his following feats. *Ovid*, with his *Metamorphosis*, was but a *type* of him.

IN the ninetieth and ninety first pages of his piece, he makes WEAPONS (as has been hinted) out of the *old contract* between the crown and the first proprietor; “out of an *opinion* of the king's servants;” and out of the “*quit-rents* in the lower counties:” For having copiously mentioned these several matters, he concludes, “THESE are the WEAPONS, which I am confident will be used for “the restoration of our liberties [u].”

[s] *Ovid*. [t] *Pretended Speech*, p. 60. lin. 14.—In the *London* edit. corrected to INCREASE.

[u] *Pretended Speech*, p. 91. lin. 15, &c.

If he can make *weapons* out of *such slight stuff*, it seems a probable opinion, that he can form them—*in his way I mean*—out of an “ideal shadow,” or “a chimerical notion”—or, what is still more extraordinary—even out of his own *courage*.

MR. Galloway, ever fruitful in *useless* inventions, has found another way of giving *surprise*—and that is, by using the same word in different senses in the same page or sentence. Thus, speaking of our first impracticable frame of government and its change, he says—“if it (meaning the change) is *valid*, then “the resolution of this House for a change, assented to by nine tenths of the members met, must be “*valid also* [x].”

BUT the resolution of the assembly *alone* cannot make a change of the government; and therefore he cannot mean, that it is *valid* in the *same manner* with the first change, which was made with the consent of *every branch* of the legislature. So that by these words, *valid also*, must be intended some *other* kind of *validity*, of which no man but Mr. Galloway can form an idea—unless it be, that this *valid resolution* binds those who made it, and no body else.

MR. Galloway seems to be very fond of these *abstruse meanings*, which has inclined some people to think him addicted to the study of the *occult sciences* [y]. What else could induce him to talk of

[x] Pretended Speech, p. 81.

[y] This supposition will not appear unreasonable, if it be considered, that Mr. Galloway speaks in direct terms of “THE ROYAL MEDICINE,” an expression used *only* by *adepts* in the occult sciences, with whom it signifies some wonderful secret, by which dead persons may be restored to life; and what renders the supposition more just, or indeed reduces the matter to a certainty, is—that Mr. Galloway uses the expression in the very same sense. Pretended Speech, p. 91.

the king's *naming* our governors with his *hands* — or of people's *reading* with their *mouths*, and *bearing* with their *eyes*.

“ WE ask the king, says he, to take the *nomination* of the governor who is to rule his people into his royal *hands* [z]” — and afterwards — “ can we stop the *MOUTHS* and close the *EYES* of *all England* and *America*, or prevail on his majesty, or the ministers, to bury in oblivion what they have, ere now, so often *READ* and *HEARD* [a] ?”

WHAT a charming confusion, what a motley mixture is here — of “ stopt mouths” — “ closed eyes” — “ reading and hearing” — “ *ALL England* and *America*” — “ majesty” — and ministry. —

WHO that meets with such expressions as these, and has read *Ecclesiasticus*, can forbear admiring the

[z] Pretended Speech, p. 54 and 64.

[a] Pretended Speech, p. 83. “ But, Sir, should we waive these things, and draw our petition in a different dress, can we annihilate the messages between the governor and assembly? can we withdraw the governor's proclamations? can we hold the hands of his majesty's general, whose aid we were obliged to accept, from giving the intelligence? can we stop the *mouths* and close the *eyes* of *ALL England* and *America*, or prevail on his *majesty*, or the *ministry*, to bury in oblivion what they have, ere now, so often *read* and *heard*.”

N. B. *All England* does not include *the king* and *ministry*.

Mr. Galloway may indeed say, that the expression of “ *reading* with the *mouth*,” is proper when a man reads *aloud*. I grant it under *that restriction* — and therefore let it be supposed, that *ALL England* AND *America*, AND his *majesty* AND the *ministry* read *aloud*, like boys in a country school.

Perhaps some persons may think *me* more obliged to Mr. Galloway, in this part of what he calls his speech; than I have yet acknowledged myself to be, since he seems to have aimed at an *imitation* of these my expressions. — “ Though *we* should keep the secret, can we seal up the lips of the proprietors? can we recall our messages to the governor? can we annihilate our own resolves? will not *all* — will not *any* of these discover the *true cause* of the present attempt?” Speech — p. 9.

truth

truth of that verse, which says — “ The *heart* of the
“ *foolish* is like a *cart-wheel*; and his *thoughts* are like
“ a *rolling axle-tree* [b].”

NOTHING less than a love of the *occult sciences*, can give one a true relish of these *mystical lucubrations*, with which Mr. *Galloway's* piece abounds. Any person may observe, that *his meaning* always appears like an object in a *mist*, that renders it confused and indistinct; which kind of deception may cause persons of weak sight sometimes to mistake a *lamb* for a *lion*, or Mr. *Galloway* for a *gentleman*.

How remote from the plain, common mode of speaking is this sentence, “ we have often attempted to obtain relief *from* oppression *from* the proprietaries, but in vain [c].”

THE *reader* may guess at the meaning — but the *writer* leaves it *doubtful*, whether application was made to *oppression* against the proprietors, — or to the *proprietors* against oppression.

WHAT a beautiful obscurity is there in this sentence? “ If, Sir [d], a true representation of the
“ uncommon mischiefs which attend the liberties of
“ a free people, arising from the very nature of
“ proprietary government [e] — If a true state of our

[b] Ecclesiasticus xxxiii. 5.

[c] Pretended Speech, p. 51, lin. 11.

[d] Pretended Speech, p. 82, 83.

[e] Quære — Whether the *mischiefs* or *liberties* arise “ from the
“ very nature of proprietary government?” The reader will no doubt take notice of the pretty repetition of that little word “ if,” which Mr. *Galloway* seems to have introduced with no other intention, but to rescue the poor monosyllable from the obscurity, in which hard hearted authors have suffered it to languish — He has done the same justice in several places to the merit of that other diminutive word “ of.” *Inest sua gratia parvis.* VIRGIL.
“ present

“ present confusion, both in and out of our public
 “ councils.— If a *just* account of our present in-
 “ security of life and estate, given to the crown, be
 “ a *just* cause of terror, then the gentleman’s panic
 “ is *just*. But, Sir, *these things*, I conceive, are ra-
 “ ther causes of *joy* than fear. ’Tis from hence, we
 “ must hope to be relieved from our present un-
 “ happy circumstances.”

Now, what *things* can a reader find in this de-
 scription, if he is a good man, that are “ causes of
 “ *joy*?” Not the public misfortunes to be sure.—
 What then? Not the “ representation” “ state” and
 “ account” of calamities, because it is said, “ they
 “ are *true*.” What then can be a “ cause of *joy*?”
Eureka! Eureka! This “ representation” “ state”
 and “ account” may relieve us from our present
 unhappy circumstances. May they so? But, *until*
 we are so delivered, if we are the miserable people
 we have been described, a patriot, in the midst of
present misfortunes, would, from an *uncertain* pro-
 spect of relief, hardly find “ cause of *joy*,” though
 he might entertain some *hope*. A man on the rack
 would scarcely feel *joy*, though he might have ex-
 pectations that he would some time or other be re-
 leased.

THIS may be called the true “ twilight way of
 “ writing,” which, like the bat in the fable, keeps
 in the middle between *sense* and *nonsense*, to the ex-
 ceeding edification and entertainment of those rea-
 ders who like paragraphs that are *mysterious* and
wordy, because they shew *depth* and *language*.

ANOTHER sentence, in which Mr. *Galloway* gives
 the reader a very pretty *surprize*, is that, where he
 says — “ this colony has so remarkably flourished,
 “ and

“ and now takes off such vast quantities of *English*
 “ manufactures, from no other cause but her extensive
 “ privileges [*f*]”

How *new* and *striking* is this observation? Any other person would have said, that “ the people
 “ took off such vast quantities by reason of their
 “ necessities or luxuries.” But Mr. *Galloway* scorns such trite notions — He establishes a new dogma —
 “ our extensive privileges take them off.” BROAD-
 SHOULDERS PRIVILEGES [*g*] *indeed!*

PERHAPS, if he should write a comment on his own text, he would say — that he meant, that the extensive privileges occasioned the *settlement* of this province — and the settlement occasioned the *demand* for the manufactures — and so the privileges were *causa sine qua non* [*b*]. But this argument will not extricate him — since, if he travels so far backwards, the same way of arguing will oblige him to go still further. — For those privileges would not have been granted by *William Penn* — unless *Charles the Second* had first made a grant to *him* — which would not have been, but for his father's services — and so, these services of old admiral *Penn*, who died in the last century, “ now take off such vast quantities of *English* manufactures.”

In this *extraordinary manner* does Mr. *Galloway* indulge himself in his *political reveries*. Even the most simple and common observations in life, utterly lose their force in his language.

[*f*] Pretended Speech, p. 52.

[*g*] Id. p. 61.

[*b*] That is, “ the cause without which the manufactures would not have been taken off.”

THE *mystical lucubrators*, among whom *he* may with justice claim the president's seat, seem to be *first-cousins* to the authors of the PROFUND style. Certain it is, that they are governed by the same laws, and that there is a wonderful resemblance in their productions. In order to prove this, I shall beg leave to mention the *rules* to be observed by that numerous and venerable society, as they are described by Mr. *Pope*, in his learned treatise ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΘΟΥΣ.

“ I WILL venture to lay it down as the first maxim
 “ and corner-stone of this our art; that whoever
 “ would excel therein must studiously avoid, detest,
 “ and *turn his head* from, all the ideas, ways, and
 “ workings of that pestilent foe to wit, and de-
 “ stroyer of fine figures, which is known by the
 “ name of *common sense*. His business must be to
 “ contract the true *gout de travers*; and to acquire a
 “ most happy, *uncommon, unaccountable* way of think-
 “ ing. His design ought to be like a *labyrinth*, out
 “ of which no body can get clear but himself [*i*].”

AGAIN—“ our authors of this style should lay
 “ it down as a principle, *to say nothing in the usual*
 “ *way*, but (if possible) in the direct contrary;
 “ therefore the figures must be so turned, as to
 “ manifest that intricate and wonderful *cast of head*,
 “ which distinguishes all authors of this kind; or
 “ (as I may say) to represent exactly the *mold* in
 “ which they were formed, in all its *inequalities, ca-*
 “ *vities, obliquities, odd crannies, and distortions.*”

“ It may be observed, that the world has been
 “ long weary of *natural things*. How much the

[*i*] POPE'S works, vol. vi. p. 172.

“ contrary are formed to please, is evident from the
 “ universal applause daily given to the admirable
 “ entertainments of Harlequins and Magicians on
 “ our stage. When an audience behold a coach
 “ turned into a wheel-barrow, a conjurer into an
 “ old woman, or a man’s head where his heels
 “ should be; how are they struck with transport
 “ and delight [k] !”

YET what are *all these*, when compared with Mr. Galloway’s changing in an instant a *nurse* into a *weapon*, and putting that *weapon* into the hand of *its* own child? or, what are they to his forging *weapons* out of an *old parchment*, an *opinion*, and *arrears of quit-rents*? what author of the *profund* can vie with this our Pennsylvanian patriot?

Ye little stars, hide your diminished heads.

NOT to dwell upon other instances, how exquisitely *uncommon*, *unaccountable*, and *unnatural*, is his making our privileges take off all the English beer and cloth imported into this province? and also his making the king strip us of liberties, of which we were stript before?

THE great poet I have mentioned further observes, “ that the manner of these authors forming
 “ their thoughts is aided by familiarising their
 “ minds to the *lowest objects*; and exercising them
 “ on the dregs of nature [l].”

NUMBERLESS instances in our author’s piece prove how much *his* thoughts have been formed on this plan. I will only mention one, where, to revive and

[k] POPE’S works, vol. vi. p. 190.

[l] Id. p. 180, 181.

regale his reader's imagination, he kindly puts him in mind of a *certain sweet-smelling place*.

THESE, "WITH MANY OTHER PARTS" of this our "political institutor," which must be remarked by any careful peruser, are "irrefragable proofs" with what diligence and success he hath studied the aforesaid treatise.

I NOW proceed to that renowned page, where the whole powers of Mr. *Galloway's* genius are collected into one dreadful simile.

"WITH great propriety (says he) a *political body* has often been compared to a *human constitution*. Let us suppose then, that a *human constitution* is attacked by a violent disease, the EFFECT whereof has nearly destroyed the powers of life, AND living motion [m], and nature is no longer capable [n] of struggling for relief."—Surely this *human constitution*, whose "vital motion as well as its powers of life are nearly destroyed," is now *sick enough* for any simile in the world —

"Is not this the time to apply the remedy? No! For it should have been applied before — and now nature is so much exhausted, may "entirely destroy" her — which frequently happens, when people will venture to take physic from *quacks* ;

[m] This is a mistake — for it is "vital" in the original—however it is to be hoped this error will be excused, as the words "vital" and "living" have nearly the same meaning.

[n] It is to be remarked by the reader, that, though nature is "no longer capable of struggling" at the *beginning* of this simile, yet this is only to heighten the description — a licence frequently taken by Mr. *Galloway*—for, before the simile is finished, she "can and does struggle"—and the only danger is, that "death will put an end to them."

“ who are a sort of gentry, never remarkable, before Mr. Galloway made the discovery, “ for waiting in hopes of some lucky crisis” — Now OR NEVER, is a motto, that suits *all empirics.*” —

“ THE powers of legislature *truly resemble the soul,* which animates and directs” not only “ the *conduct,*” but “ the *behaviour,* of the *political institution.*” Yet these “ powers of legislature *truly resembling the soul,*” nine lines afterwards are so checked and controlled, that they are almost ANNIHILATED — poor soul!

“ AN *upright* administration of justice resembles the *active blood,* which, by its pure and uninterrupted course, preserves and supports its health and vigour.” But *we* have no *upright* administration of justice in this province, according to our author; and therefore, by his own simile, no *active blood* in our *political institution.* Yet immediately after, he says, “ in these *two vital parts,*” to wit, the [o] passive soul and [p] active blood “ the fever of ambition and [q] arbitrary power is and has been raging with unremitting violence.”

PERHAPS the author of this famous simile may say, that, by the “ vital parts” he means the power of legislature, and the administration of justice — But this will be a contradiction of himself, for he only allows “ an *upright* administration of justice” to be a *vital part*; and as among us, “ the stream

[o] This word “ passive” is inserted here — it being supposed, that it was omitted by a mistake in the original, as Mr. Galloway has given the epithet of “ active” to the blood, in order to distinguish it from some opposite quality in the soul.

[p] Quære, if physicians, surgeons or anatomists reckon the “ active blood” among the “ vital parts?”

[q] Quære, what is the fever of *arbitrary power*?

“ of

“ of justice is become so *turbid* and *thick*, that it
 “ can no longer discharge its duty,” this “ vital part”
 composed of “ an upright administration” is
 wanting.

HOWEVER, if both these *vital parts* should be *an-*
nihilated, Mr. Galloway has allowed the *fever* room
 enough to exert itself. “ It rages, says he, in these
 “ two vital parts, *with many others.*” — “ Well chosen,
 “ *that expression*, and prudently guarded [*r*].” — It
 rages not only in the *soul* of the *legislature*, and the
active blood of the *administration* — but in MANY
 OTHER VITAL PARTS. Unexampled energy of
 diction !

[*s*] When “ *active blood*” shall flow in *lifeless veins*,
 The wondring world shall praise thy “ *turbid*” strains.

PERHAPS some curious critics may be disgusted at
 the preference Mr. Galloway gives the *legislative*
powers over an *upright administration of justice*, in com-
 paring the first to “ that particle of divine air [*t*]”
 the *soul* ; and the latter to mere matter — the *blood*.
 — But this seems to be too hasty a censure, by no
 means to be adopted — for *it is to be observed*, that
 soon after, in saying “ these two vital parts,” he
 places the *soul* and *blood* exactly on a level, making
 them both “ vital parts” *without the least distinction*.
 Besides, Mr. Galloway, when he uses the word
 “ soul” or “ spirit,” does not annex the *same idea*
 to the term, that is always annexed by others — for
 he talks of a “ *spirit*” that may be “ *worn out*,” and
 “ *dissolved*,” and to which “ *reviving medicines may be*
administred.” — “ And, if such a medicine can be ob-
 “ tained, shall we not even attempt to obtain it, be-

[*r*] Preface to Pretended Speech, p. 31.

[*s*] Blanked.

[*t*] *Divinæ particulam auræ.* HORACE.

“ fore the MIDNIGHT GLOOM approaches, and FATAL
“ DEATH puts an end to our struggles?” Undoubt-
edly! *Doct̄or*— and, if it proves a *preventive* against
these dreadful disorders— *midnight gloom* and *fatal*
death— I shall hereafter entertain a better opinion
than I do at present, of those bold pretenders, who
undertake to cure all diseases “ past, present, and to
“ come,” by a ROYAL MEDICINE, or some other
nostrum, with the like pompous title.—

F I N I S.

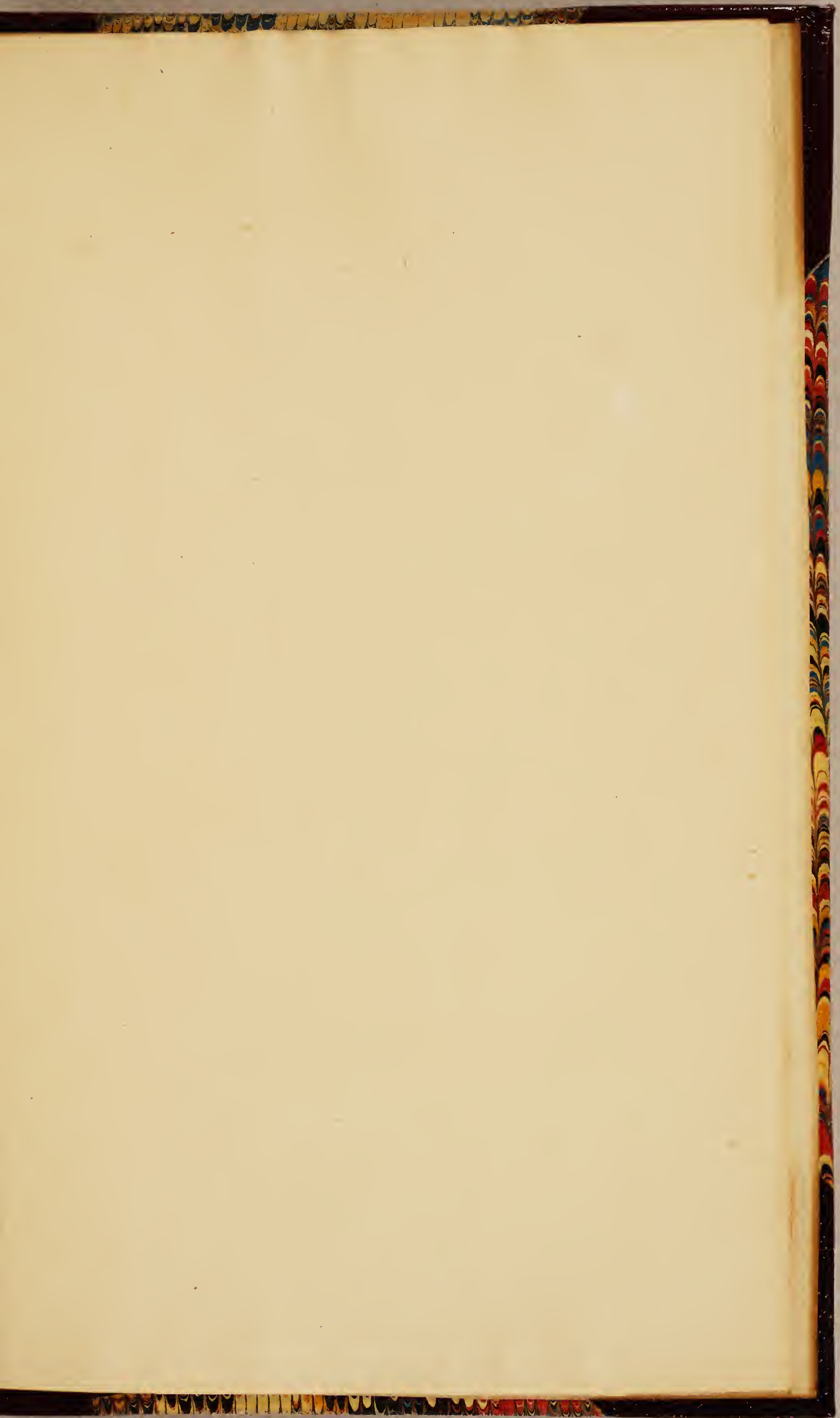
THE Pamphlet called, The Speech of Joseph Galloway, Esq; was published on Saturday the 11th of August.—The next day I left Town to attend the Courts in the Lower Counties, and did not return till the 26th.—The following Reply was written in the small Intervals I could spare from the Hurry of the Courts at Dover and New-Castle, and these frequently interrupted.—The Court for Chester County began the 28th, and held till the 31st of August; and Philadelphia County-Court began yesterday, so that it has been impossible for me to prepare this Piece for the Public, in the Manner I wished to do.

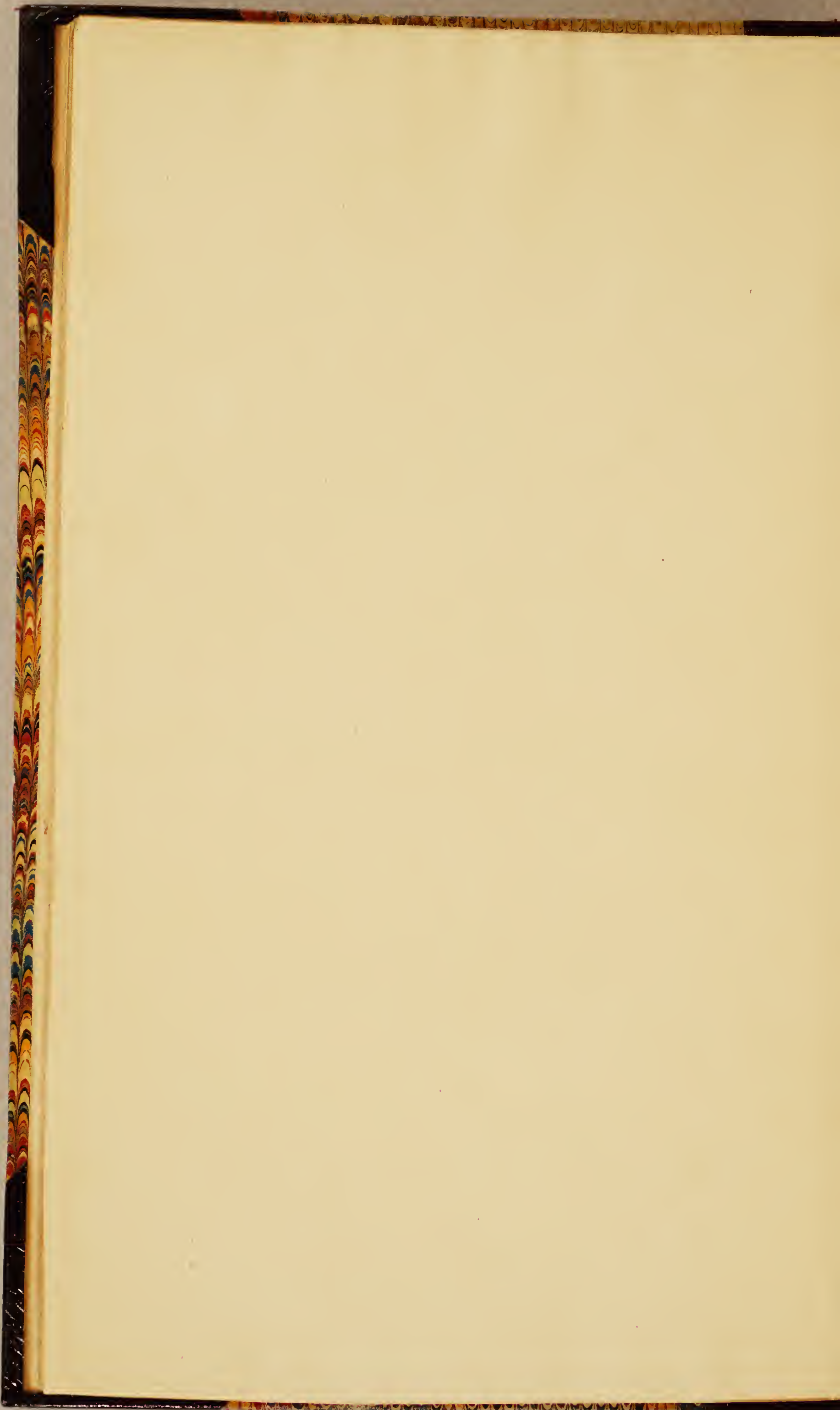
I hope the Reader will therefore be so kind, as to excuse any Inaccuracies that may be discovered; which I should have carefully endeavoured to correct, if my Business had not prevented me.

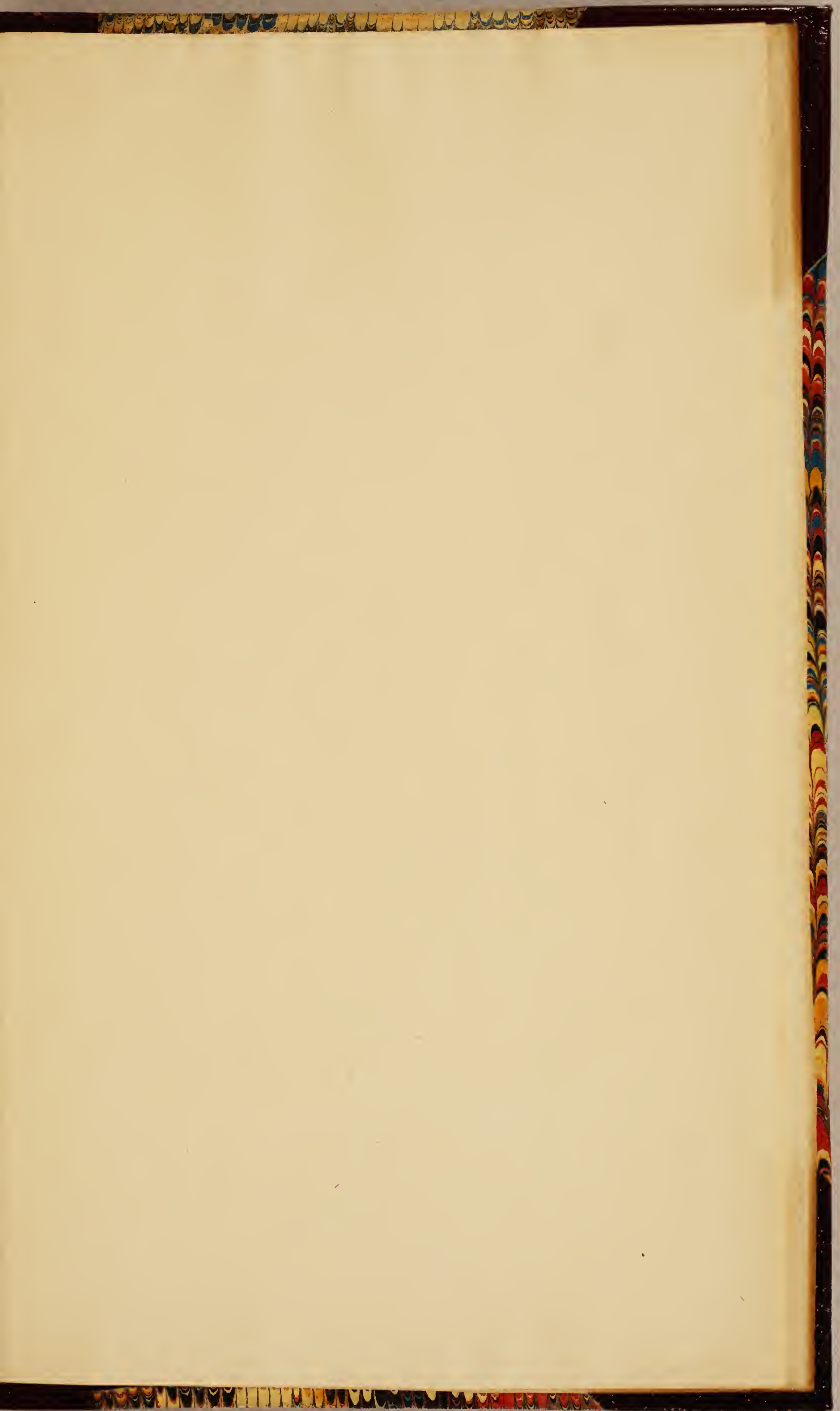
Philadelphia,
Sept. 4, 1764.

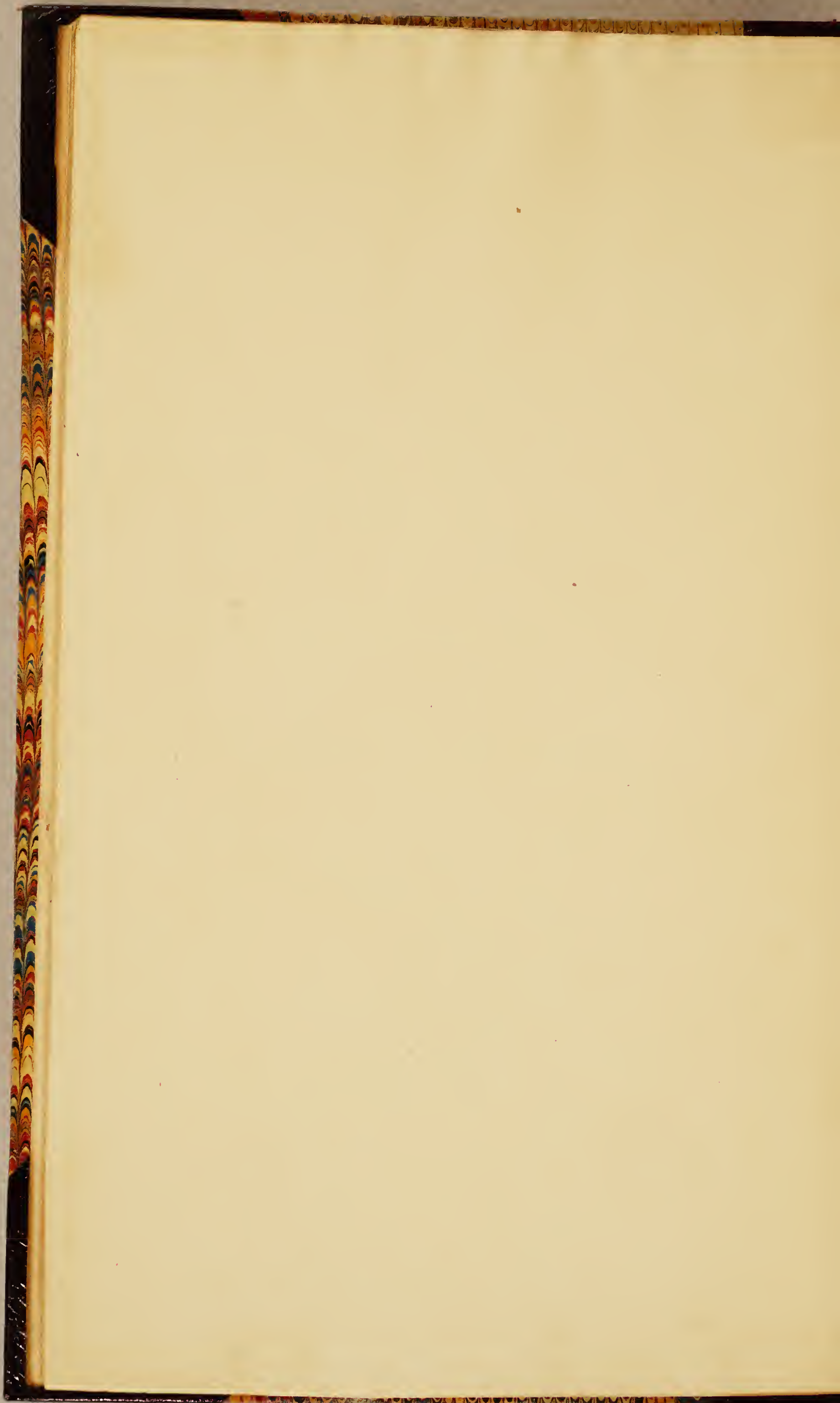


Faint, illegible handwriting is visible across the page, appearing as ghostly impressions of text. The script is likely a historical form of cursive or a similar style, but the characters are too faded to be accurately transcribed.









D765
D533r

